



GOVERNMENT OF MAHARASHTRA

**MAHARASHTRA ARCHIVES
BULLETIN OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES**

No. 4

Edited by

MORESHWAR G. DIKSHIT

Director of Archives and Archaeology

AND

V. G. KHOBREKAR

Assistant Director of Archives

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THE PRETENDER OF GOVIND RAO GHORPADE OF MUDHOL

In the following pages, the story of supposed Govind Rao Ghorpade of Mudhol is unfolded. Govind Rao Ghorpade of Mudhol was killed in the last action that took place between Bapu Gokhale and the English at Ashte in the year 1818. In 1826 the British Government received a letter, supposed to be written by Govind Rao Raje Ghorpade of Mudhol, who claimed his rights on the Mudhol *Jagir*. The correspondence relating to the investigation of his claim by the British Government with evidences given by Govind Rao's wife and brother and from eminent personalities in the Deccan, is found in the Political Department volumes¹, which is presented here.

The founder of the Ghorpade family of Mudhol was Sujan Sinh, who came to the Deccan to seek his fortune and was granted *Jagirs* by the Bahamani rulers. This family held a high position at the Court of Bijapur also. The Ghorpades of Mudhol during their early conquests accepted a military command under the Peshwas.

Maloji Ghorpade (1715-1805) witnessed all the generations of the Peshwas from Balaji Vishwanath to Bajirao II and took active part in many campaigns by the orders of the Peshwas. After his death in 1805, his grandson Narayan Rao succeeded him. This Narayan Rao, who died in 1816, had two wives and three sons — Govind Rao, Lakshman Rao and Vyankat Rao, the last named being the youngest of the three, but the only son of the eldest of the two wives of Narayan Rao. Govind Rao, being the eldest one, claimed the succession, but on his claim being resisted by Vyankat Rao's mother, he referred the succession issue to the Peshwa. The Peshwa (Baji Rao II), however, took no immediate decision on the matter. In the meanwhile, Govind Rao was given a command of horse under Bapu Gokhale, who fought the last battle with the English at Ashte on 19th February 1818. In this battle Bapu Gokhale was killed. Govind Rao Ghorpade was also reported killed with his commander in the same battle. Previous to this occurrence a decision on the succession on Mudhol *gadi* appears to have been passed by the Peshwa in favour of Vyankat Rao. Lakshman Rao, on the fall of the Peshwa, made off to Baroda, where he took service under the Gaikwads. On the surrender of the Deccan, when the Governor Elphinstone was settling the Deccan *Jageerdars*, he found Vyankat Rao in possession of Mudhol *Jagir*, and accordingly concluded with him an agreement in the year 1819 to continue the *Jagir* with him.

Nothing worthy of note seems to have taken place in the history of Mudhol for some years after this. In 1826, however, the British Government was surprised to receive a communication from a village in Khandesh, purporting to be written by Govind Rao Raje Ghorpade of Mudhol. The writer, who declared himself to be Govind Rao, stated in his application that as he was severely wounded in the battle, remained in the hiding and after six months, having quite recovered from his wounds, went on pilgrimage to sacred places in Hindustan (North India), whence he had now returned. He accordingly claimed his rights

¹ Political Department Volumes Nos. 10/233 of 1826 (Extracts Nos. 1 to 5), 18/273 of 1827 (Nos. 6-7, and 10 to 22), 14/237 of 1826 (Nos. 8-9) and 48/372 of 1829-33 (Nos. 23 to 52).

as the eldest son of the late Narayan Rao (*vide* No. 1)*. The Commissioner in the Deccan, on being directed to inquire into the matter, referred to Vyankat Rao, who did not deny that this person might be his half-brother, but insisted that he himself had been confirmed in the *Jagir* by the late Peshwa (4).

The story of this so-called Govind Rao acquired a name in general estimation from the evidence which was given to it by several of the members of the Mudhol Ghorpade family. This person was then desired by the Government to proceed to Poona (5) and afterwards to Dharwar (20) to prove his identity, and an enquiry was instituted by the Political Agent, from which it appeared that Govind Rao's wife was also so sure of the identity of the claimant with her husband that she joined him to live with him as his wife (19). This and other circumstances induced the other members of Ghorpade family to support the impostor's claim, among whom was Lakshman Rao, the younger brother of Govind Rao Ghorpade. A large number of persons too who were knowing Govind Rao well from his youth, declared that the man who had so strangely appeared on the scene was the veritable eldest son of Narayan Rao (13, 19).

When the matter came before the Government for decision, the Government remarked, "Though the story of Govind Rao's recovery when left for dead..... be in the highest degree improbable, yet the testimony borne by different persons to his identity renders his case worthy of a full and deliberate inquiry." (14).

The Governor, Mr. Elphinstone, ordered a full inquiry in the case and stated his opinion that, although if the self-styled Govind Rao was proved to be the person whose name he assumed, his claim to any family *Enam* or other hereditary property, might be taken into consideration, yet even in that case the right of Vyankat Rao to the *Jagir* would not be affected, as he was confirmed in the *Jagir* of which he was already found in possession on the subversion of the Peshwa's government and as a formal agreement had been concluded between him and the British Government (15). The Political Agent was therefore directed to report what property, exclusive of the *Jagir*, the so-called Govind Rao would be entitled to, according to Hindu Law, in the event of his proving his identity (16).

The so-called Govind Rao, thus supported by the general belief, gathered strength at Poona and loudly urged an investigation into his case without moving to Dharwar as directed by Government (21, 23).

The matter, however, remained unsettled for two years further, till December 1928, when Sir John Malcolm, who had succeeded Elphinstone as Governor of Bombay, made a tour through the Deccan and Southern Maratha Country. In the meantime, the local authorities, appointed to enquire into the case, had reported unfavourably about the pretensions of the claimant. The self-styled Govind Rao joined the Governor's camp and urged further enquiry into his claim. Vyankat Rao was equally desirous for a final adjudication of claims which, he stated, reflected dishonour on himself and his family. Then, while in Belgaum, on 1st January 1829, the Governor requested some of the principal Chiefs in his camp to form themselves into a *Panchayat* and pass a judgment in the case. The members of this *Panchayat* were the Sardars of the highest rank in the Deccan, i.e. Chintaman Rao Patwardhan of Sangli, Sidhoji Naik Nimbalkar

*Nos. in the brackets denote the Nos. of the foregoing extracts.

Sarlashkar of Nipani, Parshuram Bhau Patwardhan of Miraj, Gopal Rao Patwardhan of Jamkhandi, Balwant Rao Raste, Ambaji Ghatage, and others. Balaji Pant Natu was the controller of the *Panchayat*. These Chiefs assembled at the Governor's *Darbar* Tent, and after a most patient and impartial investigation into the case, the claim of the person calling himself Govind Rao Ghorpade was adjudged to be totally unfounded, and he was declared to be an impostor. Each of the members of the *Panchayat* delivered this judgment in writing. The ground, on which this decision was passed, was that the person was unable to speak the language of the late Govind Rao Ghorpade; his handwriting when compared with that of the real Govind Rao was found different, and that he showed the most complete ignorance of remarkable circumstances with which the late Govind Rao was well acquainted and personally connected (25, 26).

The Governor, Sir John Malcolm, confirmed the verdict of the *Panchayat* and issued a proclamation declaring the person styling himself Govind Rao as an impostor, directing him to quit the Deccan immediately lest he would be seized and punished as a disturber of the public peace, and warning that any person assisting or supporting his pretensions would be punished as abettor. The female members of the Ghorpade family, including Govind Rao's wife Janki Bai, who from inexperience or intrigue had been led into error of joining the Pretender, were allowed to return to their homes or to accompany the Pretender (27). However, Janki Bai and her attendants refused to believe that the man was no one but her real husband, and followed the Pretender into banishment (29).

After this the Pretender kept quiet for two years until the Governor Sir John Malcolm was succeeded by the Earl of Clare. In the meanwhile, he settled himself in Bombay and tried to influence the public opinion in his favour. On 27th April 1831, an article was published in the *Bombay Gazette*, a leading newspaper of the time, giving the account of the Pretender and supporting his case. Shortly after this, a petition in English language, together with a lengthy statement of his case, was addressed by the Pretender in the name of the new Governor (32). This was replied that the enquiry into his claim to the Mudhol Estate by a Jury of his principal countrymen in the Southern Maratha Country was full and complete, and that the Government saw no reason whatsoever for altering the decision then made (33). This was followed by some repeated petitions from the Pretender and also from Janki Bai*. H. H. the Gaikwad of Baroda also tried to intervene in the case on behalf of Lakshman Rao (41). But the Government was firm in its decision already taken.

In the meanwhile, all the proceedings of this case were forwarded, as usual, to the Hon'ble Court of Directors, in London. The Court of Directors, in reply, pointed out some defects in the proceedings and remarked that none of the Chiefs forming the *Panchayat* appeared to have been personally acquainted with Govind Rao, nor any person was produced before the *Panchayat* or on any other occasion who did know him, although there could have been little difficulty in finding such persons (45). Accordingly, the Political Agent was directed to ascertain whether any, and if so, which member of the *Panchayat* was personally acquainted with Govind Rao. The Political Agent separately addressed each member of the *Panchayat* and found that some of the members were actually

* We are informed that this lady, afterwards, went to her father's place, and also that she had got a son from the Pretender. *Maharashtra Mandalachi Bakhar*, p. 7 published in *Bharat Warsha*, II (1899).

knowing the real Govind Rao, while other were not (50). These replies from the members were forwarded to the Court of Directors for their information, and the case was finally closed for ever.

Capt. West, while giving a short account of this Impostor in a Chapter on Mudhol Estate, in his *Memoir of the States of the Southern Maratha Country*, in 1869, informs us that, "..... now it is well known that the impostor was a *Gossain*, who bore a remarkable resemblance to the deceased Govind Rao. The idea of the imposition is said to have occurred to him from Lakshman Rao's sister, at Baroda, having on one occasion seen him and remarked his resemblance to her deceased brother. Lakshman Rao, strange to say, seems to have backed up the pretensions of the impostor, possibly with a view to paving the way for the pretensions he himself advanced some years afterwards."

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(No. 1). A person styling himself Govind Rao Ghorpade of Mudhol writes to Government, giving the account of his concealment after the last English Maratha war and claiming his rights on the Mudhol Estate.

(P. D. Vol. 10/233-1826, pp. 128-30)

Memorandum¹ from Govind Rao Rajey Ghorpuray Mudholkar.

On the death of Narayan Rao² Ghorpuray [Ghorpade], Chiranjiv Rajsri Vencut Rao³ Ghorpuray and myself, went to the Paishwa at Poona to urge our claim respecting the Moodhole⁴ Sunsthan and a discussion of them took place in the Durbar during a year. In the interim however the War broke out and consequently the investigation of our claims becoming suspended, we accompanied the army and in the engagement which took place in the vicinity of Punderpoor⁵ [Pandharpur], with Bapoo Gokley⁶ I received three wounds, in consequence of which, I fell on the ground. But no one connected with my troop being near me and being reduced to distress, I left that place at night and concealing myself for six months, got my wounds cured, since which time, I have been visiting the sacred places. On my arriving lately in Khandesh I was told that Govind Rao Rajey Ghorpurey had been killed in the battle, and that the Sunsthan of Moodhol had been in consequence bestowed on Chiranjiv Rajsri Vencut Rao Rajey Ghorpuray by the Honourable Company. Finding no trace of me, my younger brother Luxamon [Lakshman] Rao Ghorpurey without making any representation to the Honourable Company's Government went to Guzerat and remained with the Gaikwar Surkar under which he holds a command, and my wife went to her father's house, in consequence of which I remained in the village of Chincholee,⁷ Purgunna Aravur in Khandesh, where my family, sister and other relations &c. have since joined me. The motive of my writing this is to have recourse to the

¹ The memorandum reproduced here bears no date and was received through the Persian Secretary in March 1826.

² Narayan Rao Ghorpade, the Grandson of Maloji Ghorpade, died in 1816. West, *A Memoir of the States of Southern Maratha Country*, p. 160.

³ Narayan Rao had three sons—Govind Rao, Lakshman Rao and Vyankat Rao. Vyankat Rao, though the youngest of the three, was the only son of the eldest of the two wives of Narayan Rao. *Ibid.*

⁴ Mudhol was granted in *Jagir* to Bahiravsing Ghorpade in the year 1398 by the Bahamani Sultan Firozshah (Apte, *Mudhol Sansthanachya Ghorpade Gharanyacha Itihas, Bakhar Section*, pp. 53-55). Since then it became the estate of the Ghorpades who ruled that principality till recently. This state was under the Political Agent of the Southern Maratha Country, during the British regime. It was lying between 16° 7' 16" 27' N. and 75° 4' and 75° 32' E., with an area of 368 sq. miles, bounded on the north by Jamkhandi State, on the east by the Bagalkot Talukas, on the south by Belgaum and Bijapur Districts and the Kolhapur State, and on the west by the Gokak Talukas of Belgaum District. *IGI*, xviii, p. 12.

⁵ This action took place at Ashte on 19th February 1818, when Peshwa was moving in a westernly direction from Sholapur to Pandharpur. *PRC*, xiii, Ls. 103-4.

⁶ Bapu Gokhale (born 1777 A.D. died 19th February 1818 A.D.) was the last Brahmin General of the Peshwa period. He took his first lesson under his uncle Dhondopant Gokhale and Parashuram Bhau Patwardhan. Bapu made a name during his campaigns against the rebel Dhondia Wagh. He was faithful to his master and showed some vigour in putting down Pratinidhi, Chaturising Bhonsle and other petty nobles. He fell fighting for his master Baji Rao II, at the battle of Ashte, when attacked by General Smith, on 19th February 1818.

⁷ A village now in Yawal Taluka of Jalgaon District.

Honourable Company's Government and render my services to it as formerly. I therefore, request your permission to repair to your presence Honourable Sir, when every thing will become known to you.

(Signed) W. H. Wathen,
Persian Secretary to Government.

P.S.—This person is about to prefer claims to the Moodhol *Jageer*.

(Signed) W. H. W.

(No. 2 & 3). The Chief Secretary, Bombay Government, forwarded the above memorandum to the Commissioner in Deccan, with a request to send "an early reply on the subject" and asked the Persian Secretary to "suspend all reply to the writer for the present". (Letters Nos. 351 & 352 dated 7th March 1826).

(pp.131, 132).

(No. 4). The Commissioner in Deccan forwards to Bombay Government a letter from Vyankat Rao Ghorpade, the Chief of Mudhol, who explains the circumstances at the time of his father's death and about the supposed death of his brother Govind Rao.

(pp. 334-36)

Translation of a letter from Venkut Rao Ghorpure the Chief of Modhole to William Chaplin, Esqr., Commissioner in the Dukhun, dated the 9th May 1826.

I have received your letter dated the 11th of March and 25th April, you mention that Govind Rao Raje Ghorpare Modholekur had represented that on the death of Narain Rao Ghorpure he (Govind Rao) and I went to the Peshwa to urge our claims respecting the Modhole *Suwusthan* &ca. (recapitulating the purport of Govind Rao's Memorandum enclosed in the Chief Secretary's Letter dated March 7th 1826) and desiring me to say who this person is.

I understand the contents of these letter, and in reply have to state that on the death of my father the late Narain Rao, Govind Rao, Lutchman [Lakshman] Rao and I were present at Modhole; Govind Rao went afterwards to Poona and begged that the Chiefship of the Sawsthan of the five Mahals¹ of Modhole might be bestowed on him; upon receiving intelligence of this at Modhole I went to Poona and having made my representations to the Peshwa the dignity of Chief of the *Sawusthan* was conferred on me and I performed the service of Government with the contingent of Horse. Govind Rao however laid claims to the performance of the service in question, the late Moro Dikshit² by the order of Government enquired what was the usage of the family, and ordered that the full authority should remain with me.

Govind Rao afterwards received and was supported by some temporary employment under Gokhale, I doing the duty of the Swamsthan. War subsequently broke out between the Company and the Peshwa between whom some

¹ Mudhol State had five divisions or districts viz. Mudhol, Dhavaleshwar, Jambgee, Machiknur and Lokapur. These districts were known by the name of 'Pancha Mahal'.

² Moro Dikshit—Karbhari of Peshwa Bajirao II.

misunderstanding had occurred during which hostilities Govind Rao was missing with Gokle. I hearing this made enquiries regarding him, but could obtain no tidings of him. His wife was at Modhole. She afterwards went to Manjeree¹, to see her father and mother who reside there, and preferred a petition to Satara for a Pension when, His Highness (Raja of Satara) having made himself acquainted with the Customs of my House drew up a paper; upon referring to the contents of which he appears to have made a provision for her, in conformity to that of other Widows of the family.

Some time after, I heard that Govind Rao had come to Tasgaon². I was about to make enquiries respecting him when the Government entered into an investigation and ordered the person to Poona, this fact is known to you. I now hear that Govind Rao is at Chincholee, you however, must have information on this head and there is therefore no necessity for my enlarging upon it.

I am about to send to you as my Wukeel Bapojee Bullal who will explain matters and from whom upon you will learn particulars.

[The Commissioner offers his remarks on the above letter as follows :

(p. 333).

“As the Modholekar does not absolutely deny that the person in question may be his half brother Govind Rao by a young wife, it will I think be necessary that he should come to Poona and prove his Identity.”]

(No. 5) According to the Deccan Commissioner's above suggestion, the Persian Secretary was directed “to represent to that person (styling himself Govind Rao Raje Ghorpade) the necessity of his repairing to Poona for the purpose of proving his identity”. (Bombay Government Letter No. 733 — dated 6th June 1826).

(p. 337).

(No. 6) The Political Agent at Dharwar requests Bombay Government to furnish him with certain records in connection with the English-Maratha war at Ashte to enable him to report more fully on the character of the person styling himself “Govind Rao” and communicates certain facts to render it possible that this may be in existence, and also informs that his wife has set off to join him.

(P. D. Vol. 18/273-1827, pp. 1-4).

To

W. Newnham, Esqr.,
Chief Secretary to the Honourable the Governor,
Camp Rymatpoor³.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 11th ultimo, informing me that you had referred to me, without any further attention being paid to his representation, a person calling himself Govind Rao Raje Ghorepaday

¹ Manjari—a village in Chikodi Taluka, Belgaum District.

² Tasgaon—a village now in Sangli District.

³ Rahimatpur—Town in the Koregaon taluka of Satara District, situated in 17° 36' N and 74° 12' E., 17 miles south-east of Satara city. IGI(BP) i. pp. 561-2.

of Moodhole, the eldest born son of the late Narayen Row, claiming the estates of that Principality; also a copy of a letter from the Persian Secretary, dated the 27th ultimo, transmitting copy of an application from the same person, and informing me that he had been directed to proceed to Dharwar¹ to prove his pretensions before me, together with copy of a *yad* from the Moodholekar's Vaqueel the tendency of which however is not very perceptible, however much so to a Marhatta understanding.

The only information in my possession of the Battle of Ashtee² wherein Govind Row Moodholekur is supposed to have fallen, is in Blacker's³ and Prinsep's⁴ accounts of that eventful period; but all that is stated in 'the Memoir of the operations of the British Army during the Maratha War', regarding that brilliant action, is in Page 254⁵ "the Enemy lost about 200 killed, including some Chiefs, besides Gokla" and in 'the Political and military transactions during the administration of the Marquess of Hastings', is in (Vol. 2, p. 182). 'Besides Gokla the Enemy lost another Sirdar Moro Punt Aptee'. As however the official account of that action or report made of it by the then Commissioner to the Supreme Government must make some mention of so principal a Sirdar as Govind Row Raja Ghorpaday, who, there can be no doubt, was engaged therein, I request, I may be furnished with copies thereof, and of such other documents native or English, as may throw any light upon the subject, and especially the cause of the unaccountable long absence of a person of the consequence of the Individual in question.

3 It may be proper to mention here that in January last, whilst at Chickody⁷ in the Kolhapoor Territory, the Vaqueel of Venkut Row Moodholekur represented that there was a rumour of Govind Row being still in existence, and that his wife (the sister of Babjee Seetolekur⁸) had actually set off to join him, contrary to the usage of her sex and requesting my interference to recall her. The Seetolekur denied this, and said his sister had gone on a pilgrimage to the Punderpoor⁹ Davee [Deva]; of course, I took no further notice of the Vaqueel's representation; should however this lady have joined, and recognised the person

¹ Dharwar—Headquarters of Dharwar District and taluka, situated in 15° 27' N. and 75° 1' E. IGI(BP) ii, p. 71.

² Ashte—a village now in Mohol Taluka of Sholapur District, situated in 17° 51' N. and 75° 28' E. IGI(BP) i, p. 579.

³ Lt Col. Valentine Blacker, *Memoir of the Operations of the British Army in India, during the Mahratta War of 1817, 1818, & 1819*, London, 1821.

⁴ Henry T. Prinsep, *History of the Political and Military Transactions in India during the administration of the Marquess of Hastings 1813-1823*, London, 1825 (in 2 vols). This work was based on the earlier book by the same author, *A Narrative of the Political and Military Transactions of British India, under the administration of the Marquess of Hastings, 1813 to 1818*, published in 1820 in London.

⁵ This is on pp. 250-251 and not on p. 254.

⁶ Smith writes to Elphinstone, the then Commissioner, ".....besides Gokla another sirdar of distinction said to be Narro Punt Aptey was killed." PRC xiii, L. 104.

⁷ Chikodi—Headquarters of Chikodi Taluka in Belgaum Dist., situated in 16° 26' N. 74° 35' E. IGI (BP) ii, p. 20.

⁸ Shitole Family (of Ankali and Manjari) was one of the famous Maratha families. Dalvi, *Maratha Kulancha Itihas*, Part II, p. 123.

⁹ Panaharpur—In Sholapur Dist. a famous place of pilgrimage in Maharashtra.

in question as her husband, it will certainly make much in his favour, and for these reasons, first, that it is difficult to conceive that a wife can be mistaken as to the identity of her husband, and, second, still more so to suppose that the sister of the Seetolekar would lend her aid to an Impostor.

Circuit Cutchery, Hoobly,
6th November, 1826.

P.S.—My *moonshees* have drawn up a paper of what to the best of their recollection took place at the conference referred to in the last para.

(No. 7) The Political Agent submits to Bombay Government an extract from a native account, collected by him which mentions Govind Rao Ghorpade's name, taking part in the Battle of Ashte, but does not speak anything about his death. The document is also uncertain as to the death of Babu Gokhale.

(pp. 5-7)

To

W. Newnham, Esqr.,
Chief Secretary to the Honourable the Governor,
Poona.

Sir,

Since my letter of the 6th instant on the subject of the person calling himself Govind Row Ghoreparady [Ghorpade] of Moodhole, I have met with a Native account of the Battle of Ashte, in one of the Histories, I have been collecting of this country, wherein Govind Row's name is mentioned as one of a party (50 in number) headed by Baupoo Goklay when he charged our cavalry — on which occasion 10 only are said to have escaped destruction—Four of these viz. Dajeeba Aitola (Atole) Paga, Barijee (Bahirjee) Seetole, and Poona Kur [पुणेकर] Chinto Punt's sons and Ram Chundra Raja Row (Ramchandra Bhojrao Pachhapurkar) are mentioned by name. The author of this History¹ is Appajee Wittul Moamlutdar of Padshapoor², who I conclude, obtained his information of the Ashte Combat from Ram Chunder Raja Row himself, who is now living at Padshapoor, copy whereof I herewith forward for the information of the Honourable the Governor, who will be particularly struck with the strong resemblance between that part I have underscored,³ and the account given by both Blacker and Prinsep.

¹ This is an extract from '*Pachhapurkar's Bakhar*,' pertaining to Babu Gokhale and the Ashte Combat, now published in *Marathi Daftar (Rumal 2)*, pp. 1-24, (Ed. V. L. Bhawe, Thana, 1922).

² *Pachhapur*—a village in Belgaum District 23 miles from Belgaum.

³ As the extract has been already published, it is not reproduced here. The underscored portion runs as follows :

“..... इतक्यात पाचशेहे राऊत पाठीवर टाकून पनास खासा बरोबर गोविंदराव घोरपडे मुधोलकर व भइरजी सिताले वगैरे धारकरी घेऊन तुरपावर उटले आधी गोखले याज-कडून लोक बंडुखीची गोली चालली तुरफातून तोफेचे गोले दोन सुटले नंतर तमचेची फेंर जाहाली यावर गोखले तुरफात सिरून पनास खासे यानिसी मारीत चालिले तेव्हा दाहा वीस मोहर साहेब खाली येताच तुकडी माघारी हटली, दुसरी तुकडी आलाहिदा होती तिणे पाहून गोखले यासी पोटी घेऊन येताच पहिली तुकडी फिरली मध्ये गोखले सापडले पनास खासेही सापडले तेथे

2. The uncertainty mentioned in this Native account as to Gokla's death is corroborated by the two intercepted Letters published in the Bombay Courier of the 7th March 1818 for the authenticity of which Blacker vouches, one of which says, "Some say Gokla is wounded, others that he is killed", the other "Gokla was wounded, but has not joined us"¹—and so strong is the conviction in the mind of his wife (Yamoonā Bae²) that he is still alive, that to this day, she has not assumed the character of Widow.³

Circuit Cutchery,

Camp Hoobly,

15th November 1826.

(No. 8) The Collector of Poona reports to the Government that the so called Govind Rao forcibly entered into the house of Vyankat Rao Ghorpade in Poona. The Collector summoned him to his office and put him in confinement in the Shaniwar Wada, and also issued a proclamation warning all the people of the Poona City not to trust the said person.

(P.D. Vol. 14/237 of 1826, p. 58 ff).

To

William Newnham Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, Poona.

Sir,

I have the honor to inform you for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor that in consequence of a forcible entry made by a person calling himself Govind Row Raja Gorpurra of Moodhole into the house of Vencut Row Gorepurra by breaking open the locks of Doors &ca. &ca. I deemed it my duty to send for that person on the 20th Instant on the Complaint of Vencut Row to my letter requesting his immediate attendance he sent a verbal answer saying he had a fever and could not come. I sent a *palankeen* for him with a message to say I was sorry to trouble him during a fit of illness but that I must speak with him without delay. He then mounted his Horse and arrived as if just dismissed from an entertainment decked with flowers &ca. &ca. and in perfect health.

2. I repeated to him the orders he had received as communicated to this office in Mr. Wathen's letter dated the 27th of October, and informed him that he must

तरवारा मनस्वी चालवून पनासापौ च्यालीस खासा सरकार कामावर आले गोखले यासी गोळी लागली घोडा होता तो मोकळा जाहाला तुरफामध्ये सापडलेल्या आसामीपौ दाजीबा आतोळे पागे व बहिरजी सितोले पुणेकर व चितोपताचे चिरंजीव जखमा लागून व रामचंद्र भोजराव पाछापुरकर असे दाहा असामी यासी वाट फुटून बाहीर आले क्षेत्र आल्याच्या ठिकाणी येकमेकाची गाठ पडली नाही दोन हजार तुफात पनास असामी सिरल्यावर येकाची भेट येकास नाही गर्दी जाहली त्यासमई बापु गोखले यांची व इसमंतसाहेब बाहादुर यांची गाठ पडून जखमा लागल्या ऐसे ऐकीव वर्तमान परतु गोखले याच्या मडळी दाहापौ कोणाच्या दुष्टीस पडले नाहीत बापु गोखले याणी गर्दीत मिसळले त्याची अखेर जाहाली ते ईश्वर जाणे....."

¹ Blacker, *op. cit.*, Appendix N, p. 461.

² The daughter of Ragho Punt Abhyankar of Naringray, in the Purganna of Salsee, in the Konkan. Forrest, *Maratha Series*, iii, p. 678.

³ Cf. *Maharashtra Mandalachi Bakhar*, p. 38, published in *Bharat Warsha*, Book II; Sardesai, *Marathi Riyasat, Uttar Vibhag*, iii, p. 507; Shaligram, *Bapu Gokhale Yanche Charitra*, pp. 103-4.

forthwith obey these orders and vacate by the 22nd Instant Vencut Row's house, under pain of being forcibly ejected, proclaimed in this City as a pretender, and punished for breaking into a house which was not his own property.

3. This person having chosen to allow the time to elapse when he ought to have evacuated Vencut Row's house and proceeded to Dharwar, I have the honor to request you will inform the Hon'ble the Governor that I have issued the accompanying notification to warn all persons in this City from trusting him, and have also disposed of his person in the old Palace to await the further orders of the Hon'ble the Governor either to send him under an Escort to Dharwar, or to try him here in the first instance for the aggression he has committed under Color of a false name. Several persons who were very intimate with the real Govind Row happened to be present in my Cutcherry at the time when the person came to me on the 20th Instant but he did not recognize one of them. His mode of walking also is said to be quite different from that of the person he pretends to be, and he sat with his face muffled up as far as his nose during the whole of the time he was with me. Before the interview was over he seemed to lose a good deal of the confidence in himself which he at first shewed. He said it was very hard to be suspected. I replied if he were the real Govind Row he could have no difficulty in Establishing his identity by the Course marked out for his adoption that I should be very happy if he did prove his identity; but that if he did not without demur follow that course, I should be obliged to think he really was an imposter who was afraid to face an enquiry, and that I should be obliged to treat him accordingly; and to shew him not only no respect whatever, but to punish him for the injury he had done on false pretences.

Magistrate's Office,

Poona, 23rd November 1826.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your Most Obedient humble Servant;

(Signed) H. D. Robertson,
Collector & Magistrate.

Enclosure to the above :

*Translate of a Proclamation issued by the Collector of Poona,
dated 23rd November 1826.*

This is to give notice to the public, that a person calling himself Govind Rao Ghorpurey Moodholkar has come here, this person after having stayed some days in the City, went and forced open the locks of the doors of the house of Venkut Rao Rajey Ghorporey in the Ghorporeis's Penth in the City and took forcible possession of the house—this was represented by Venkut Rao on which this person was summoned with a view to an investigation, which he at first said that he had been two days subject to fever and had not eaten, but he would come the next day, on which believing him to be unwell a *Palkee* was sent from the *Hoozoor*. Shortly after he came covered with flowers &ca. and on seeing him it appeared he was not sick; he was then asked, why he had gone forcibly into the house of Venkut Rao Rajey when he had been ordered to go to Dharwar and before he had proved his identity with Govind Rao and was told that he must now immediately vacate the house, the same day and that he must go to Dharwar where the investigation into his case would be made that should he not go it would appear that he was a person who was not in reality Govind Rao but one come here to

impose himself on the public as Govind Rao, and that he was afraid to go there ; on which it would appear to all plain that he was an imposter that should he not leave the house, he would be turned out. Tho' he had established no claim as a relation yet he had forcibly entered the house and therefore he would be punished as any other person would be, who might take forcible possession of another's house and a Proclamation to the effect now mentioned would be issued. This was intimated to Govind Rao, but he would not vacate the house wherefor an order has been issued to the Police, that a party of peons should be sent to turn him out of the house, and the person aforesaid is ordered to be placed in confinement until an enquiry has been instituted respecting the entrage perpetrated by him, and he is accordingly under restraint in the Sunwar Palace. Now this Proclamation is issued for the information of the Public, that as this person will not go to the place where his case is to be enquired into, it appears to me that he is an Impostor, and as it is feared that he may deceive people by false representations the public are therefore recommended not to attend to them until an investigation has taken place.

.(Signed) W. H. W.,

Persian Secy. to Government.

(No. 9) The Governor in Council approved the above proceeding and the Collector was informed that 'person should however, either be brought to trial if prosecuted by Vencut Row, or released'¹ (Vide Government Letter No. 1433, dated 12th December 1826). The copy of the proceeding was forwarded to the Political Agent at Dharwar (Vide Government Letter No. 1370, dated 14th December 1826).

(P. 59)

(No. 10) Minute by the Honourable Governor Elphinstone, ordering to procure any record pertaining to the subject from the Peshwa Duffar at Poona.

(P. D. vol. 18/273 of 1827. p. 8)

Minute by the Honourable the Governor.

All information procurable in the Duffar should be furnished, especially the Peshwa's allotment of the Jageer to Vencut Row during the life time of Govind Row when he appears before Mr. Baber² will be best able to explain his long disappearance which Vencut Row will probably be able to produce evidence of his supposed death.

The official reports of the action should also be furnished the maratha *Akhbar* of the time if forthcoming.

(Signed) Elphinstone.³

¹ The so called Govind Rao was released on 3rd January 1827, vide enclosure (B) to No. 32. (See p. 44).

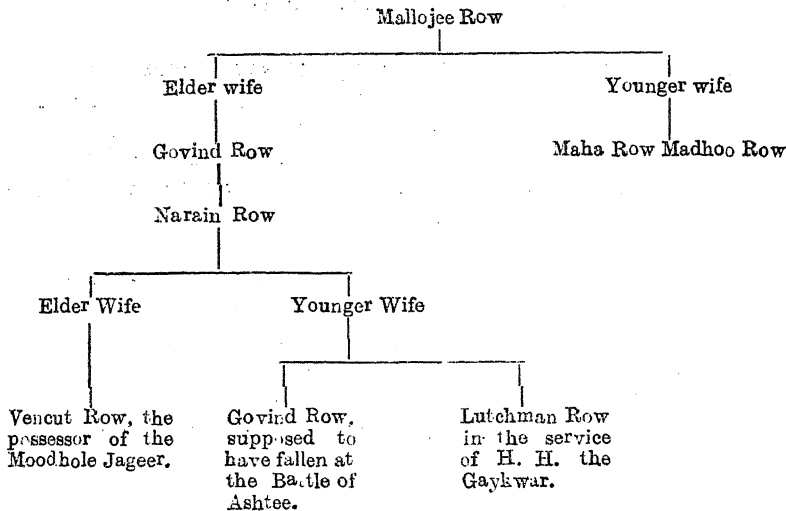
² Thomas Hervy Baber. Principal Collector & Political Agent in the Southern Maratha Country, Dharwar. *East India Register & Directory*, 1826, p. 283.

³ Mountstuart Elphinstone ; born Oct. 6, 1779, joined the E.I.Co.'s service as a "writer" in 1795 : In 1801 he was appointed Assistant to Sir Barry Close, the Resident at the court of Baji Rao, II ; he was Resident at Nagpur from 1804 to 1808 ; he was appointed Resident at Poona in 1811. He was Governor of Bombay from Nov. 1819 to November 1827. *DIB*, pp. 137-138.

(No. 11) Genealogical Table of Mudholkar Ghorpade (procured from the Peshwa Daftar) and a note on the settlement of the Mudhol jageer during the Peshwa's and British regimes, given by John Warden, Assistant Secretary to Government.

(pp. 9-10)

The Genealogical table of the Moodhole branch of the Ghorpurra family:—



There is no record in the Peshwas' *Duftar* of any settlement of a dispute between Vencut Row and Govind Row as to the Heir to the Moodhole Estate but in the Memorandum of Honorary Dresses bestowed according to annual Custom by the Peshwas on his Dependants at the festival of the *Dusserah* in *Fuslee* 1226 (1817) the name of Govind Row is entered as a person who received a Dress. With this exception the name of Govind Row does not anywhere appear on record but on the contrary in the latest Accounts of the Moodhole Estate, Malojee Row is spoken of as the possessor of the *Jaghere*, though he, I believed died¹ several years before the last War, and the Estate on the occurrence of that event descended to his Grand son Narrain Row, whose death is said to have given rise to the dispute between his two sons Vencut Row and Govind Row.

On the accession of the British Government, and the latter person being supposed to be dead, the estate was given to Vencut Row and the preamble to his *Chhor Chittee*² states his right to have originated in his being the great grandson of Malojee Row.

No Mahratta *Ukhbars* of the date of the battle of the Ashtee are forthcoming.

(Signed) John Warden,
Assistant Secretary to Government.

January 5th 1827.

¹ Maloji Rao Ghorpade died in 1805. West, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

² *Chhod Chitthi*—A deed of release. Wilson, *A Glossary of Revenue & Judicial Terms*, p. 172.

(No. 12) The Political Agent submits the result of his enquiry in the case of 'Govind Rao', made through one Nursing Rao Sondur, specially appointed by him for the purpose.

(pp. 16-17)

To

William Newnham, Esqr.,
Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter dated the 16th Instant, transmitting a Genealogical Table of the Moodhole family, and herewith transmit the result of an enquiry made by Nursing Row Sondoor, whom I specially selected for that duty, which when combined with the fact noticed in the 3rd Para of my letter dated 6th November regarding the Seetolecur's sister, would appear to be conclusive as to the identity of the Person now at Poona styling himself Govind Row Raja Moodholcur.

2. I beg to state that Nursing Row Sondoor is a highly connected young man—son of Sondoor Soob Row, late Deevan to the Sondoor Ghorepudai family¹. He was recommended to me by the late Commissioner as a young man who was to be depended upon and he has fully justified his high character, by the manner in which he acquitted himself in his adjustment of the Shedbaul affairs and latterly in his investigation into the charges against the servants of one of the *Sousthan Taluq.*

Camp Circuit Cutcheri,
1st February 1827.

(No. 13) Enclosures to the above: The report of the enquiry made by Nursing Rao Sondur and its accompaniments — three statements collected by him from (1) Apajiapa Karkun, (2) Bhagwant Rao Bakshi, and (3) Aba Karkun. Narsing Rao remarks that a large number of persons, who had known Govind Rao in his childhood and youth, declared that the man who had so strangely appeared on the scene was the veritable eldest son of Narayan Rao Ghorpade of Mudhol.

(pp. 18-33)

Translate of Urzee from the Vaqueel at Jumbundee and Mudhoole to T. H. Baber, Esqr., Pol. Agent, dated 22nd January 1827.

Vencut Row Rajasahib, is said to be still at Cumatee² [Kumthe] for the purpose of removing all doubts as to the imposition of Govind Row. The Raja Sahib's mother Bucka Bae³ Sahib and wife Tai Bai Sahib are both here (i.e. at Mudhol). They have however no powers, the Rajah having granted all the *Mooktiyary* [Mukhtiyari] to his Prostitute Jeevan Sany, whom he left in charge on his departure. Naro Punt Nana who is her Caurbaree [Karbhari] obeys her in all things.

¹ A branch of the Ghorpade family at Sondur, in Bellary District of Madras Presidency. *Bharat Warsha*, Book II.

² *Kumthe*—a village in Koregaon Taluka of Satara District. The connection of the Moodholkar Ghorpades with this village dates since the 16th century, as in A.D. 1633 half the *Patelki* of Kumthe was assigned to Shankaraji and Maloji, the sons of Baij Ghorpade, by the Bijapur kingdom. West, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

³ Bucka Bai—the elder wife of Narayan Rao Ghorpade.

Agreeably to orders, I made private inquiries regarding Govind Row, and herewith send 3 Keifeits [*Kaifyats*]. It is the opinion of every person, and they do not hesitate to say so among themselves, that this is the identical Govind Row. Vencut Raja Sahib sent Several *Kizmatgars*, and others, who knew him to ascertain the fact. They all returned and reported that they had recognised him as the very Govind Row Raja, and advised him (Vencut Row) to make no further trouble but send for him. On this the present Raja being very much displeased at them, ordered Jeevajee Naick to be expelled from the Town. He issued orders from the first that no person mention the name of Govind Row Raja in his country; they are all therefore afraid to give me answers to the questions, I put them in private on the subject. Even those who went and saw and recognized him, are afraid that they will incur the Raja's displeasure, and will therefore give no information. On my arrival at this place it was observed that there was no *Vaqueel* here before, and that I must have come upon some particular business, orders were issued in consequence to the *Caurbarees &c.*, not to come to me or give me any information even upon subjects they were acquainted with. I have notwithstanding obtained the confidence of several in private here which has been the cause of the delay in procuring authentic intelligence. The *Keifeits*, I now send are not signed by the persons who gave them. I however, wrote down all they said, they promised me if I would not bring them forward, they would give me more information. The Raja had made all the *Bundobast*, but I will ascertain and report *Vaujeeb Kubbers* [वाजवी खबर] from time to time. I have considered it necessary to report the Raja Sahibs (*Hickmut*) contrivances to make *Bundobust*.

(1) *Statement of Appajeeapa Carcoon of Mudhole, Nisbut Deshai*—formerly the companion of Govind Row Raja—Narain Row the Raja of Moodhole had two wives, the eldest Bucka Bae, the second Balla Bae. Bucka had a son Vencut Row the present Raja, and Balla Bae 2 sons, Govind Row Raja [&] Ragoba Abha Sahib, (he is called at Poona and Baroda—Laxman Row)—the latter is at present in the service of Sumbajee Row [Sayaji Rao] Guyckwad at Baroda, where he commands 150 Sowars. Govind Row Raja was born at Moodhole, lived there until his 16th year, he was short man and inclined to be stout, of the ordinary colour, a great quantity of hair on his head, round face, Whiskers not very long, was good looking, had the small-pox when about 7 or 8 years of age, no marks however remained. He was married at 10 or 12 years of age to Mahajee Seetoley's Daughter, named Jankee Bae. She resided at Manzaree [Manjari], and sent her brother's wife *Condoo Bae* [*Conda Bae*] to Punderpoor, where she remained a month, and having recognized Govind Row, sent for Juneek [Jankee] Bae, who went in consequence, remained 7 or 8 days and having recognised each other, she cohabited with him. Of the persons of this place who knew him perfectly well who went to look at him, the following remain with him at Poona.

1. *Chiko Punt*, who went to Kaussi [Kashi] about one year and half ago, stopped at Poona on his return, and having recognized Govind Row, remained with him.

2. *Wang Moondaseid Bussalingapa's Son Moorgejee*—went and joined him (one month ago) as his House Keeper.

3. *Moodhole Silladar Jeewaba*, Chindan Shiva's son Soob Row Marhatta was with Abha Sahib [i.e. Lakshman Rao] at Buddoda [Baroda]. He came and after remaining a year, about a month ago, went to Govind Row at Poona.

4. *Beelgeecur Shunkrajee Raja's Oopadhia Gopaul Bhut*—having recognized Govind Row at Poona came here three months ago. Backa Bae sent for him to the Wadi and having questioned him, he informed her, that there was no doubt that the Individual in question was Govind Row. After this he went back to Poona.

Besides the above the following Persons who recognized Govind Row have returned back :—

1. *Busslinga Son of Bussapa, Siddapore Petta*—This person having known Govind Row before, went to Poona for the purpose of seeing him. He says that he remained there for 9 days, and recognized his (i.e. Govind Rao's) features perfectly well, that Govind Row when he saw him, immediately told his father's and relative's names, and other circumstances relating to his (Busslinga's) House, that he (Busslinga) was then confirmed in his opinion that the Individual was Govind Row Raja. He says he has not a doubt it is Him. He remained there 9 days during which Govind Row, questioned him particularly regarding his (Busslinga's) House affairs.

2. *Jewajjee Naick Marhatta, Beejapoorcur*—was in the service of Govind Row's Grand Father Purweth Row, at Baddeley, and has known Govind Row since he was a child, lately he came here but accompanied Purweth Row's Widow Guzzera Bae to Coomata [Kumthe], the Bae remained there and sent the Naick on some affairs to Poona, where having seen distinctly, recognized Govind Row, he returned to Coomata and reported that it was Govind Row, on this the present Raja became displeased and discharged him. He replied that he had told the truth, if he was discharged in consequence he could not help himself, but that he would not tell a falsehood, on this he left the place and went to Beejapoor.

3. *Ranojee Seinde*, a wealthy cloth Merchant who has been supplying this Family with thousands of Rupees worth of that Article for some time past, he accompanied the present Raja's *suwary to Coomata [Kumthe]*—and thence to Poona, he then came back to this place (Mudhol). Being in the habit of supplying Govind Row with clothes and he knew him perfectly well, he went to see him in consequence and recognized him at once. On seeing him Govind Row reminded him of the former *levyalevy* dealings with him. This confirmed him in his opinion. He returned to this place and said that the Individual was Govind Row Baba Sahib and that there was no doubt on the subject. Large sums of money are now due to him by the present Rajah. He was informed that payment would be withheld if he told anybody this intelligence, and therefore is silent on the subject.

Regarding the cause of Govind Row Raja's departure from Moodhole,—He lived there (at Mudhol) till his 16th Year, when Narrain Row Raja took him to Poona and having procured him the appointment and charge of 100 Sowars left him there. He served the Paishwa 4 or 5 years, then came to Nepaunee [Nipani]¹, to be present at Vencut Row Raja's Marriage, and thence to this place. At this time Narrain Row Raja died after a months illness from a large Boil

¹ *Nipani*—Town in the Chikodi taluka of Belgaum District, situated in 16° 24' N. and 74° 23' E., on the road from Belgaum to Kolhapur, 40 miles north of Belgaum. The Estate, of which this town was the principal place, lapsed to the British Government in 1839, *IGI (BP)*, ii, p. 26.

in his foot, his funeral ceremonies lasted 15 days, after this Govind Rao said it was his right to succeed to the *Gaudy* to which Backa Bae Sahib said that although he was the eldest, she was the senior wife, and therefore her son Venkut Row must take precedence of him, and that he (Govind Row) should be *Caurbaree* of 5 Mahals. He said he would not assent to this, that he would either have the *Daulet* [*dawlat*] or take himself off. Twice he was brought back to Moodhole by promises made to him to make *bundobust* which however was not done, upon which he took several of the best Horses, and arms from the *Paga* and went off to Poona. After this the Bae Sahib sent Mohdeen Chand a man of consequence to go and bring him back. That person went as far as Asserghur¹ on the Krishna, he however would not return but went on to Poona where he was taken under Goklas protection. Shortly afterwards Ragoonath Row Abna Sahib [i.e. Lakshman Rao] who was here (at Mudholi) at the time wrote to his elder Brother Govind Row that he was not being treated well, and obtain permission to join him at Poona. On this Bucka Bae having gained the Poona Durbar over to her side sent Venkut Row Raja to get her affairs settled. He went to the *Pa.sawa*. Naro Punt Nana Ducksat [Moropant Dikshit] was at this time the ruling favourite. To him Venkut Row presented through Dondo Punt Dandecur [Dandekar] 3000 Rs. and thus got the avenues to the Durbar closed (literally *durbanda*) and by this Ducksheets [D.khit's] influence, the Durbar decided that Govind Row serve with *Suvars* at Poona, receive an annual *Nemnook* allowance and that Venkut Row Raja enjoy the *Surinjam Doulet* &c. No *yad* was however drawn but to this effect. Moro Deckshit having died² in action against the English, in the meantime his arrangement in consequence fell to the ground. At this time the Paishwa's Suwary quitted Poona and traversed the country.³ Govind Row Raja was present when Bapoo Gokla attacked the English, with him were Jeewaba Churdun Sheva, and Dankopa Churdun Sheva, Silladars of this place. Jeewapa Churdun Sheva was killed in that action. Dankopa is with Abba Sahib at Baroda. I was not present during this action—what I have stated relating to it is what I heard at the time. I do not know Govind Row managed to escape. Besides this Aniajee Punt Coolcurnee [Kulkarni] and a respectable Ryot of Coomta [Kumthe] who recognized Govind Row Raja have gone to reside with him at Poona. Venkut Row Raja is now at Coompta, making all the *Bundobust* he can to make Govind Row Raja out an impostor.

(2) *Statement of Pundooring Punt Buckshees Son Bugwant Row Buckshee of Moodhole, aged 23 years, 16th January 1827.*

Q. : What do you know regarding Govind Rao Raja ?

A. : He was here till his 16th year. I was then 7 or 8 years old. I cannot perfectly describe his person, then I recollect. He was of a midling stature neither dark or brown. I was a great favourite of his. He used to take me about in his own house, he spoke the Marratta, Canarese and Mus'aman languages. The Nang Buslingam was his Tutor. I also learnt under him for a short time. Govind

¹ *Asirgad*.—Town and fort, formerly in Khandesh District in north latitude 21° 26' and east longitude 76° 20', 12 miles north-east of Burhanpur, and 29 miles south-west of Khandwa. *GBP* xii, p. 574.

² Moro Dikshit was killed in the Battle of Khadki on 6th November 1817. *PRC*, xiii, L. 70.

³ *Ibid*, Ls. 73, 75

Row used to attend the same school, sit there till the 2nd or 3rd *paur* [*Prahar*], and learn to write and cast accounts. When he went to serve at Poona, he remained there 4 or 5 years and came back to Moodhole, one month after Narrain Row died, when he claimed the *Doulet*. Family disputes broke out in consequence, when he went back to Poona. I do not know what took place afterwards, he remained there a short time, it was afterward given out that he was killed in the action in which Gokla fell. The following persons went and saw him lately at Poona :—

1. *Ranojee Scende*—This person was sent by Venkut Row to Poona on business from Coomta. He recognised the Raja and told me that as soon as he went and stood before him, the Raja called him by his name, that he was of midling stature before but not stout, has now large whiskers, mustaches &c. and in consequence of which he (Ranojee) did not at first make him out, that the Raja told him of all that had passed during their earlier years and talked 4 languages, that he saw him distinctly and has no doubt of his being Govind Row Baba Sahib. He added he was afraid to say so to the present Raja lest he should incur his displeasure.

2. *Sheleva Marhatta*—who was in the habit of Cooker for Govind Row. The Bae sent him on business to Poona. On his appearing before the Raja, the latter immediately called him by name and brought several circumstances to his recollection. The cook then inspected his arms and legs, recognized the Raja, returned to this place and gave out that it was Govind Row. On his mentioning this to the Bae, she became angry with him, but on his engaging not to publish it any where, was allowed to remain at the Wady.

Similar orders has been issued to all in the Wady. Whoever comes and says it is Govind Row immediately incurs the displeasure of the Bae and Raja.

When Govind Row Raja was going on Service (literally to battle) he left a Kettle Drum with Santhus Ghorpudai at Cumtai, to whom Govind Row sent a communication of all that passed on that occasion, when the latter immediately returned the Kettle Drum, and went and remained with him.

(3) *Statement of Abba Carcoon. nisbut Caitaree Appa Manohar of Moodhole, 20th January 1827.*

Q.: What do you know regarding Govind Row of Moodhole ?

A.: I have been residing in this Village for the last 2 years. I never therefore saw Govind Row and consequently know nothing of his complexion, color or size. I heard he was killed in Gokla's action. The following persons however have informed me that they saw him at Poona latterly :—

1. *Vankutrao's Carcoon Raojee and Dhondo Punt Dandacur* [*Dandekar*]—Both these persons were the Moodhole Raja's *Carbarees*. They therefore knew him from his Birth. To discover him they sent the Beelgeecur¹ Sankeerajee Raja's *Oopadhye* Gopal Bhut who know Gopal Row from his infancy and used to perform the *Deio* [*Dev*] *Pooja* for him. They gave him money for his expenses and sent him to bring intelligence. He went and saw Govind Row Raja and having questioned him on all circumstances leading to identification, recognized him very clearly. He came back and said that he was the very identical Govind Row Raja. To him Govind Row Raja gave the

¹ Bilgi—a village in Bijapur District.

following account of his escape at the Battle in which Gokla fell. He said he was wounded and remained with his face down in the field of Battle, and after all the *Lushcur* had left the place, he crawled to the nearest Village as well as he could, where he made the Patell his friend, and remained for a short time. Thence he went to Hindustan, which he left for Boranpoor,¹ and thence he came in this direction. Gopaul Bhut mentioned these particulars to both Dhondo Punt and Raojee. He (Gopal Bhut) also mentioned it in this manner to every person and to me too that it was undoubtedly Govind Row Raja.

2. *Satiyaga Marhatta* and another *Kizmutgar* likewise went to Poona, recognized the Raja and returned. They state that Govind Row reminded them of how he incurred Bucka Baes displeasure during his infancy and the particulars of all the ornaments he sold and pledged, after which they said they had no doubt that it was the very identical Govind Row Raja. Both these persons are at present in the Baes Service in the Wady. She became displeased with both, in consequence they will not repeat this to any person.

3. *Jeewajee Naik sepoy*—He knew Govind Row Raja from his infancy, was sent from Coompta to Poona on this business and having seen, said it was Govind Row Raja himself. He told the Moodholecur that it was not proper his representing his Brother as an Impostor, and advised him to send for Govind Row as soon as possible and receive and treat him as a Brother. On this the Moodholecar became very much displeased, and ordered him to quit the place forthwith, to which he said he had spoken the truth, and if he was expelled in consequence, he did not care. On this he left the place and proceeded to Beejapoor.

4. *Ranojee Simpee* who was in the habit of providing the family with cloths, and a gardener who went to see Govind Row Raja, returned and declared that he was the identical Raja.

5. A person of Suttara [Satara] who knew the Raja before, went and saw him. He also says it is the same, and given a very particular description of his person. He is now at one of the Villages, when he comes back he (Abba Carcoon) will bring him, when he will tell every thing he knows.

All those who go to see him, come back and say it is the same, not a doubt it entertained on the subject. The Moodholecur is making all the *Bundobust* he can to prove him an Impostor. If the company's Sircar make enquiries the truth will be known and Govind Rao be acknowledged Raja.

(No. 14) The above statements were considered by the Government and the following minute written. Government thinks that the case of Govind Rao is worthy of a full and deliberate enquiry, and also that the agreement made by British Government with Venkat Rao should be taken into consideration.

(pp. 34-36)

Minute by Government

(Dated 7th March 1827)

Though the story of Govind Row's recovery when left for dead and of his then retiring to Hindustan and remaining there for 9 years, instead of coming in and claiming his lands of the new Government be in the highest degree improbable,

¹ *Burhanpur*—a Town in Nimar District (now in Madhya Pradesh), lying in 21° 18' N. and 76° 20' E., about 40 miles south of Khandwa and 40 miles north-east of Bhusaval. *GBP*, xii, p. 589.

yet the testimony borne by different persons to his identity renders his case worthy of a full and deliberate enquiry. The Political Agent should therefore be requested to call on the alleged Govind Row to produce the proofs of his being the person he asserts himself to be and to desire Venkut Row to send any persons whom he may think necessary to give information on the same subject.

If it shall be substantiated that the person calling himself Govind Row is no impostor, his claims to the jageer or to a Numnook will have to be investigated by the Government.

The first point to be determined in this enquiry will be whether the agreement of the B. G. [British Government] with Venkut Rao be such as to preclude all dispute about his succession. Should this question still be open, yet if it should appear that the Paishwa has passed a decision that will of course be final, and at all events it will be necessary for the alleged Govind Row to complain the motives of his abandonment of his claims for so long a period.

Before instructions are issued to Mr. Baber, the agreement¹ concluded with Venkut Row had better be circulated.

(No. 15) The Governor Elphinstone opines that as an agreement has been already concluded with Venkat Rao his title to the Jageer would in any case, be unaffected.

(pp. 49-50)

Minute by the Honourable the Governor.

The *Jageer* having been granted to Vencut Row and a formal agreement concluded with him, I should consider the question of title to it to be finally closed.

Had Govind Row been in actual possession by an undisputed title his *Jageer* would nevertheless have been resumed if he had failed to appear and acknowledge the new Government. Jan Rao Naik of Pultan's² lands were sequestrated for a very short absence of this sort and were only restored as a favour.

Now Govind Row had been decided by the Peshwa not to be the legal heir and his rival was in possession before our conquest of the Country, we found him in possession, confirmed his title, and concluded an agreement with him, as far therefore as the Government *Jageer* is concerned his title is perfect, with regard to any *Ennam* or other hereditary property, the Political Agent should be directed to investigate *first* the identity of the person, *Second* whether any decision was passed by the Paishwa and *third* (supposing this person to be Govind Row and no decision passed) whether by the hindoo law as administered in his country he is entitled to the whole or any part of the succession.

(Signed) M. Elphinstone,

¹ The Government obtained a copy of an agreement concluded by the British Government, with Vyankat Rao Ghorpade of Mudhol in 1819 (pp. 38-48). The agreement is not reproduced here, as the same has been already printed in Aitchison's *Collection of Treaties, Engagements & Sanads*, Vol. VIII, pp. 269-71.

² *Phaltan State* : in Satara District lying between 17° 55' and 18° 6' N. and 74° 44' with an area at 397 sq. m.m. *IGI (BP)*, ii, p. 503.

(No. 16) The Chief Secretary, Bombay, requests the Political Agent, Dharwar, to investigate in the case, and to report what property exclusive of the Jagir, Govind Rao would be entitled to, according to Hindu law, in the event of his proving his identity.

(pp 51-53)
2nd April 1827.

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 1st February last reporting the result of your enquiries respecting the person stating himself Govind Row Rajah Moodholecur; and to communicate to you the instruction of the Hon^{ble} the Governor in Council thereon.

2. Though the story of Govind Row's recovery when left for dead and of his then retiring to Hindoostan and remaining there for 9 years, instead of coming in and claiming his lands of the new Government, be in the highest degree improbable, yet the testimony borne by different persons to his identity, renders his case worthy of a full and deliberate enquiry.

3. You are requested therefore to call on the alleged Govind Row to produce the proofs of his being the person he asserts himself to be and to desire Venkut Row to send any persons whom he may think necessary to give information on the same subject.

4. With regard to Govind Row's claim to the *Jageer* supposing him to be an impostor, I am directed to state that as the *Jageer* has been granted to Vencut Row and a formal agreement concluded between him and the British Government the Governor in Council considers the question of title to it, to be finally closed.

5. Had Govind Row been in actual possession by an undisputed title his *Jageer* would nevertheless have been resumed if he had failed to appear and acknowledge the new Government. Jan Rao Naik of Pultan's lands sequestered for a very short absence of this sort and were only restored as a favour.

6. It is further to be observed that Govind Row had been decided by the Paishwa not to be the legal heir and his rival was in possession before the conquest of the country by the British Government. It found him in possession, confirmed his title and concluded an agreement with him. As far therefore as the Government *Jageer* is concerned his title is perfect.

7. With regard to any *Enams* or other hereditary property you are requested to investigate *first* the identity of the person, *second* whether any decision was passed by the Paishwa and *third* (supposing this person to be Govind Row and no decision passed) whether by the Hindoo law as administered in his country, he is entitled to the whole or any part of the succession.

To

The Political Agent at Dharwar.

(No. 17) The Political Agent forwards a newsletter showing Vyankat Rao's attitude towards Govind Rao's case.

(p 55)

Translate of Extract of Ukhbar from Seenapa Hurcara at Jumkundee and Moodhole, 11th February 1827

Govind Row Ghorepudai is at Poona, Canddo Punt, the son of Antojee Punt, Coolcurney [Kulkarni] of Comtai [Kumthe] is with him, he wrote a letter from

Poona to his family at Coomtai, the Moodholkar posted Sepoys at Antojee Punts House, told him that he had heard he had received a letter from Poona and requested him to show it. He was released 4 days ago.

True Translate.

(Signed),

Pol. Agent.

(No. 18) The Political Agent sends further reports (collected by Narsing Rao Sondur) supporting Govind Rao's identity.

(p. 56)

Ic

William Newnham Esqr.,
Chief Secretary to Government,
Bombay.

Sir,

I have the honor to forward some further documents, in continuation of my letters, dated the 6th and 15th November last, still further corroborative of the person now at Poona being the identical Govind Row Raja Moodholecur, He gives himself out to be, and also elucidating the circumstances under which He has been induced to remain so long in concealment. The account given by Rajeeba Ghorepudai would lead also to the belief that Bappoo Gokle's widow's hope of seeing her Husband again is not altogether a fallacious one.

Circuit Cutchery, Nundgam Kanapoor,
28th March 1827.

(No. 19) Enclosures to the above :—The statements collected by Nursing Rao Sondur from (1) Rajiba Ghorpade, (2) Chetawapa Pawar, and (3) Ranoji Simpi.

(pp. 57-77).

*Translate of Urzee from Nursing Row Sondoer Vaqueel at Jmkkundee and Moodhole to T. H. Baber Esqur. Pol. Agent S. M. C., dated
18th February 1827*

I formerly reported that Bucka Bae [Vyankat Rao's mother] had privately instructed her confidential servant Settapa to go and obtain intelligence of Govind Row Raja. I accordingly contrived means to obtain *Keifeits* [*Kaifyats*] from this Settapa and Ranoojee Simpee who accompanied him, which together with one given by Rajeeba Ghorepudai, I beg to enclose. From these *Keifeits* it would appear that Bappoo Gokle is still alive, and that he is concealing himself from fear of the Sircar. When I last visited Jmkkundee¹ it was confidentially reported at the *Bazar* the Gokle was left for dead in the field, that he however

¹ *Jamkhandi*: Capital of the State of the same name, situated in 16° 30' N. and 75° 22' E., 70 miles north-east of Belgaum, and 68 miles east of Kolhapur; *IGI (BP)* ii; p. 535.

survived, and visited the Sunkeswar Swamy¹ about one and a half or two years ago and that he is still in correspondence with him. The fact of Govind Row Raja's existence can only be ascertained by enquiries at the *Huzzoor*.

(1) *Statement of Rajeeba Ghorepadai Bargeer Iallaka Moodholecur, 12th February 1827.*

Q.: What do you know regarding Govind Row ?

A.: I know him from his birth and the following is the whole of what I know :—

Narrain Row Raja had two wives, the elder was Bucka Bae. She had issue Venkut Row Balla Sahib. His younger wife was a native of Dhyegam, daughter of Yeshwant Row Naik, her name was Balla Bae. She had children Govind Row Balla Sahib the elder and Lutchmun Row Ragoba Abbha Sahib the younger. They were with Narrain Row Raja at Poona and I was with him. During the Nana Furneese's [Nana Fadnis] administration, Govind Row Raja was born at Poona. 3 or 4 months afterwards a force was sent from Poona against Kur dai [Kharda]²—in consequence of his extreme youth Narrain Row Raja gave his wife Balla Bae a horse. He himself took the child, tied him to himself with a Dhotee, kept a pot of milk which he gave him whenever he cried on the road, and travelled by a separate road from that taken by the *Lushcur*, they reached Coslatai Chandoley on the third day, joined the army by another road from thence to Cur dai [Kharda]. Narrain Row's mother Hullia Bae *alias* Tai Bae Sahib resided at Scindias village *Chambargooney*³ at this time. He took his wife and infant there, and returned to the Camp at Cur dai [Kharda] and came back thence to Poona by the way of the Nurshery Moolk [Mashir-ul-Mulk]⁴, about this time and for one year, or one and a half afterwards, the Moodhole *Talooq* was held by Maha Raja.⁵ After Shevai Madhoo Row's [Sawai Madhav Rao] death at Poona, Bajee Row succeeded, and Narrain Row obtained *sunnuds* in his favor for Moodhole. He remained in attendance there but sent his wife and son Govind Row to Moodhole. He followed them 5 or 6 months afterwards. Govind Row was married at Maunzera [Manjari] at 10 years of age. One year and a half afterwards the Paishwa proceeded to the Kaurtiq Swamy⁶. On his return to Poona Gokla took the Sircar *Vurradh* [Varata]⁷ for a lac of Rups., came to Moodhole and fixed the payment

¹ Shankaracharya of the *Smarta* Sect of Hindus. His seat is in Sankeshwar, a village in the Chikodi Taluka of Belgaum District, situated : 16° 15' N. and 74° 29' E., 27 miles north-west of Belgaum town. *IGI (BP)*, ii. p. 27.

² *Kharda*, a town now in Jamkhed Taluka, Ahmednagar District, 56 miles south-east of Ahmednagar. *GBP*, xvii, p. 721. Narayan Rao Ghorpade, along with his grandfather Maloji Rao Ghorpade, took part in the Battle of Kharda, (1795). Apte, *op. cit* (I), p. 180.

³ *Chambhargonda*, popularly known as Srigonda, 18° 41' N. and 74° 44' E. 32 miles south of Ahmednagar. Sindhia held a patilki *Watan* of this place from ancient times. In 1750 they obtained it in Inam. Phalke *Shinde Shahichya Itihasachi Sadhane*, i, p. 59.

⁴ Mashir-ul-Mulk, the *Diwan* of Nizam, was taken as captive at the battle of Kharda, and brought to Poona. Grant Duff, *A History of the Marathas* ii, pp. 248-49.

⁵ Maha Rao, the second son of Maloji Rao and the uncle of Narayan Rao, was looking after the management of Mudhol Estate, for sometime, when Narayan Rao was staying with his grandfather Maloji Rao, at Poona. Maha Rao's administration was marked with great cruelty, in consequence of which *Mankaris* and principal inhabitants of Mudhol requested Narayan Rao to come and take possession of the estate. Accordingly, Narayan Rao came to Mudhol and Maha Rao fled to Kolhapur. West, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-60 : Apte, *op. cit* (I), p. 184.

⁶ The famous temple of Kartik Swami near Sondur in Madras Presidency. Bajirao II visited this place in 1807. *PRC*, vii, L. 230.

⁷ *Varata*, an assignment or order on the revenue. Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 865.

to it at 50,000 Rups. Narrain Row then went to Poona and took his son Govind Row with him. He left him in service there at his 16th year, and returned to Moodhole. Two years after this his wife came to Woman's estate. Govind Row came down and having known her, returned to Poona. At Poona he was appointed Sirdar of 75 Horse, received a *Jurry Putka* and served the Paishwa about 4 years. About this time Venkut Row Raja was married at Nepauney [Nipani] Govind Row came down, attended the ceremony and returned to Moodhole. 15 days afterwards, when Narrain Row was attacked with a boil in his foot and died in the *Vyshauq Maus* [*Vaishakh Mas*], about a month afterwards. During Narrain Row's time Bucka Bae had no children. In consequence she took Govind Row as her son. After the adoption, she said that even if she had a son, she should place Govind Row as the successor to the *Doulut*. Paper to this effect had previously been drawn out in the presence of Narrain Row Raja and Dajeeba Seetoley. On Narrain Row's death, this paper was concealed, and Bucka Bae expressed her wish that her son Venkut Row succeeded to the *Doulut*. In consequence of this wish Govind Row became angry and went back to Poona where he remained for a short time, he was with Gokla at the action with the English. I do not know what occurred at that time. He was at that time about 20 to 21 years of age, a very handsome man—full, fare and whiskers, his body was not marked with the small pock—there was a mark on his right foot, when learning to ride in his youth he had a fall from his horse, he had a Ramrod (?) in his hand with which he wounded himself on his back, about 4 fingers above his waist, he had a black spot wart on his foot. As he was missing after the battle, Conda Bae, about a year afterwards, sent her Jemadar whose name I do not recollect, to go and search the country for him, he proceeded to Scindias and the Sickhs country, discovered him, and came back about a year and half afterwards. He said that both Govind Row and Gokla were alive, that they were ashamed to be seen, that they expected *Sreemunt* [i.e. Peshwa Bajirao II] would be restored to his *Raj* in a short time and concealed themselves in that part of the country through fear of the Government, also that after meeting in the Govind Row, he heard all that had befallen him and used to mention the name of the village where he first met him, which I do not now recollect. Having recognized him to be the identical Govind Row, he remained with him 2 or 3 days, obtained permission to return and requested a letter from him. The Jemadar further said that when he attempted to leave that place Gokla became alarmed of the discovery that would be made of his existence, and attempted to assassinate him, when Govind Row saved the Jemadar by stratagem. The Jemadar gives a very particular account of Govind Row's being in existence, the places he visited. He mentioned all this in the presence of Bucka Bae, the Raja and many others, but they were too much interested and too afraid of losing their *Doulut*. In consequence they gave out that all was false, they made a jest of the information at one time and became angry at another. Shortly afterwards Conda Bae and the Jemadar went in that direction to *Pytun* [Paithan]¹. They are not now present. After Conda Bae had reached her mother's house she sent other people to make further enquiries and obtained positive intelligence — at last they brought Govind Row. My wife was with Conda Bae. She had the charge of Govind Row from his infancy. He

¹ *Paithan*—the famous sacred place and the headquarters of the taluka of the same name in Aurangabad district, situated in 19° 28' N. and 75° 24' E., on the north bank of the Godavari. *IGI (HS)*, p. 213.

consequently had a particular regard for her. She therefore has been travelling the country 6 years looking out for him, recognized him and accompanied him to Poona. My two children are with her. There is therefore no doubt, but that it is the identical Govind Row. My wife repeatedly sends messages to me to join them, but I hold *Enams* and fields here which have been in our family from the time of my ancestors and as I am in Vencut Row Raja's service I am afraid of incurring his displeasure should I go away, I am confident that when Govind Row is recognized and admitted to his rights, he will come here sooner or later, when I can see my wife and children. I have therefore thought it best to remain where I am for the last 7 or 8 years. My Sircar was in the habit of receiving private accounts from time to time of Govind Row's safety but as he does not come here every person who mentions his being alive is made a liar. When the Company Sircar makes enquiries, every thing will be known. Latterly even Janick Bae [Janki Bai=Govind Rao's wife] when she was about to see her husband, had a *purda* (blind) put up between them both, and for 7 days having questioned him of every circumstance regarding their *animosity*, took a *Kattar* (dagger) in her hand and told him if, on his approach to her, she discovered him to be an impostor, she would make away with herself and they then cohabited together, when she discovered him to be the identical Govind Row. The following people were sent by the Bae Sahib from the Wady to recognise Govind Row and having done so, returned, viz. :—

- 1 Ballapa Sawan,
- 2 *Vaunees* [*Vani*=Grocer],
- 1 Chitko Punt Carcoon who remained behind,
- 1 Gardener,
- 1 Shetawapa Powar Kizmutgar,
- 1 Negheputty Caullae,
- 1 Ranojee Simpey,
- 1 Boopud Sing.

9

They all knew Govind Row from his infancy and recognized him clearly. They all say it is the very same individual. Besides the above the Raja's Dada Mhar Row¹ [Maha Rao] went to Poona, recognized Govind Row and gave a written statement to that effect to the Hon'ble the Governor. Shortly afterwards Govind Row was for some reason confined in the Sunnewar Wady [Shaniwar Wada] at Poona and Mhar Row returned to Moodhole. Venkut Row Raja Sahib who was at Coomptai [Kumthe], sent for Mhar Row there, told him that Venkut Row [Govind Row] was discovered to be an impostor and confined in consequence that he [Mhar Row] was an elderly man. He begged him to give a writing that Venkut Row [Govind Row] was an impostor, and told him that if he did so, it would be to his advantage, he importuned him very much to comply. Mhar Row replied that he had already given a writing to the Sircar that it was Govind Row himself, asked him how he could now give him another that he was an impostor, and told him at once that he could not do so. On his return to Moodhole, Bucka Bae made the same attempt, and he gave her the same answer. They then abandoned their intention of succeeding in this manner. Venkut Row Raja remained at Comptai [Kumthe] to accomplish his views in this affair, and distributed about 10,000 to 15,000 Rs. in private to several people

¹ Maha Rao, grand-uncle of Govind Rao and Vyankat Rao.

at Poona. No person knows anything about this. He obtains *Hoondees* for 2,000 to 3,000 Rs. from time to time from the Bagulcote *Soucars* under the pretext that it is for his *swary* expenses, he has also recovered the 3 *Hufta* payment of his *Talooqs*, and is making *Taqaza*¹ for the 4th *Hafta*. UP to this time Venkut Row was very careful. Now all the Revenues of his *Talooqs* have been consumed. The expenses of the Chytur maus [*Chaitra month*] Ram Nowmey [Ram Navami] are approaching. He will require 10,000 to 15,000 Rs. to celebrate them, besides the Chaty expenses of his Doulet [*Dawlat*] he begins to find that all his plottings have failed, that his money is gone, that Govind Row is being recognized as his individual self and gaining partizans and that he is likely to be found out by the Sircar. He is therefore very uneasy on all these accounts and very much reduced in body, intelligence is being brought from time to time from Comptee [Kumthe]. I have mentioned all that I know. I knew Govind Row from his infancy. I have not seen him since his return to Poona and if required by the Government will at once declare whether the person giving himself out as such is the very same or not. I will not consider the favour of either party but will state the truth.

(2) *Statement of Chetawapa Powar Kizmutgar nisbut Abbaye Sahib, 12th February 1827*

Q.: What do you know regarding the Moodholcur Govind Row Raja's affairs, how old is he, how many years and where did he serve? What was his complexion and state everything in detail.

A.: From my 25th year I have been employed as cook in the family. I know nothing of the time of Govind Row's birth.

When he was in service at Poona he required a person to remain constantly about his person. When 16 years old, Narroyen Row took him to Poona and left him there. He served the Paishwa for 4 or 5 years, thence came to Nepauny to be present at Balla Sahib's [Vyankat Rao's] marriage and visited Moodhole after that ceremony. About 10 or 15 days afterwards Narrayen Row died of a boil in his foot. Govind Row [was] asked to ascend the *Gaudy*, but Abbaee Sahib said that the elder wife's son Venkut Row should succeed. Govind Row became angry and went away. He was at this time about 20 to 21 years of age a full made handsome man of middling complexion, rather inclined to be corpulent, full whiskered, a round face not pitted with the small-pock, body quite elder, a very intelligent man, good sepoy, well versed in the Marhatta, Canarese and Moosulman languages. He went to Poona in consequence of this family dispute, obtained service under Gokle and remained there for 5 or 6 months. It was about this time reported that he fell in the action with Gokla at Ashte.

Q.: Did you see the individual now styling himself Govind Row at Poona and what do you know of him and his affairs?

A.: About 3 months ago Abbaee Sahib called me at the Wady, directed me to go to see Govind Row at Poona, to observe whether he had a mark 4 inches above his right knee, also a black wart on the same foot, another mark about 4 inches above his waist on the back, to inspect them all, then see whether it was the same individual I knew, and whether he was the same or an impostor. I was getting ready in the mean time Balla Sahib informed her that he would take me with him in his intended journey. He did so, and both of us went to

¹ *Taquaza*—importunity in urging the settlement of a claim or payment by various mode of annoyance. Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 804.

Coompata [Kumthe]. On the night of our arrival there, he selected myself, Rano Tailor, Myputti Caulla and Booput Sing (all of us knew Govind Row very well) and directed us to go and obtain the most correct intelligence. Beeca Mussalchee at the same time informed the Raja that he wished 10 or 15 days' leave to go and see his wife and children, who were at Poona. We all proceeded together. Govind Row came to make *Numescaur* at Mallojee Raja's Tomb at Poona, Myputti Caullai and Bicka Mussalchee threw themselves in his way, he saw them at some distance, as he was formerly in the habit of joking and playing with Myputti, he recognized him there, and called out "*Yerai Miggateya Myputti Caullai Baunchot*" and asked him when he came. After this he called Beeka Massalchee towards him, this person was formerly with Govind Row, and he retained him as *Mussalchee* [torchbearer] in his service. We all then went to the Town and having procured a place alighted and thence Rano Simpy, Myputti, Beeka and I proceeded to Govind Row's place. On appearing before him he called us by our names and desired us to come and sit before him, we all inspected his body and found the four mark mentioned by the Sahib. I knew of his having had these marks before. During the Paishwa's journey from Poona to Punderpoor, and when passing the Devul Ghatt, Govind Row dismounted, and held his horses tail, when he received a kick, the impression of the shoe remained in his Waist, which I found on taking off his *Dhoter*. He likewise mentioned to me that he had received a kick from his horse at such a particular time and place and recounted all his youthful affairs to me, when all doubts of his being the identical Govind Row were removed from my mind. Formerly one Bhyrjee was *Jemadar* under Govind Row, he went out in search of him, five or six years ago, and is now with him. I asked him to recount the circumstances that latterly befitted his master, he told me that Govind Row had informed him of a part, and that he had himself witnessed a part of what he related as follows. During the action at Ashte. Bapoo Sahib Gokle, Govind Row Raja, Cundai Row, Bapoo Sahib Sondooreur, Babjee Seetolee's elder brother (name not known) were very severely wounded, and left on the plain for dead, that the English army pursued the Paishwas, when Govind Row crawled as well as he could and concealed himself in a Sugarcane field which was near the scene of action, that the owner came there shortly afterwards, that Govind Row sent him to call the Patel of the Village, who he begged to conceal him till his recovery and promised to give him 100 to 200 Rupees, that the Patel took all the four wounded persons to the Village, assigned them separate apartments and cured them all in the span of one month, when all four went towards Punderpoor, where they concealed themselves for one year in the house of one *Buddaviya* a Bearer. As they were known to many of the *Soucars* &c. of that place, they borrowed about 3,000 to 4,000 Rupees of them with which they maintained themselves and thence proceeded to Raplai where Govind Row's Dada's wife Guzzera Bae resided. They remained there about 4 months, when they separated. Govind Row Raja knows the direction taken by the others. From Raplai¹ Govind Row proceeded to the Seick's [Sikh's] Country, where he served for a short time and thence proceeded to the Bhooslai [Bhosle] at Nagpoor, where he obtained a *Mouncrees* [*Mankari's*] Situation, thence he proceeded to Chechely [Chincholi] in Hindoostan, where he was discovered by Maha Linga Raja's wife Balla Bae. She is a Native of Coomptai and sent intelligence of the discovery she had made to Purovetta² [Parwat] Row's wife Soobha Bae, who having

¹ *Rople*—a village in Pandharpur taluka of Sholapur District.

² *Parwat Rao*—another grand uncle of Govind Rao.

proceeded to the place and recognized Govind Row sent information to his sister Conda Bae at Pytun [Paithan]. She likewise came and discovered him to be her Brother and sent for his wife Jaunick [Janki] Bae. She remained with her husband for about a year, and accompanied him to Poona. The Jemadar further said that Govind Row had in his possession papers from the people of the Village Ashtee, Punderpoor &ca. to the effect that he had remained at such a place for such a time, that he keeps them all very carefully and intends producing them whenever the Company Sircar may institute an enquiry, that Bapoo Gokle was still alive, but was very much reduced in consequence of the very severe wounds he had received in his shoulder and arm, that he has not even strength sufficient to sit on a horse, that he is within Govind Row's call and in private correspondence, that Gokle's wife sent her *Carcoon* to obtain intelligence from Govind Row Raja regarding her husband, by whom Govind Row sent a *Jurnauli Cun* [जरीचा खण] value 5 Rupees and a *Cookum* [कुंकुम] *Hullad* [हळद] valued at 1 Rupee but gave no information in writing.

We four persons informed Venkut Row Raja at Coomptai that it was Govind Row and advised him to send for him, he accused us of telling false hoods and got angry at us. On my return to Moodhole I communicated intelligence to the Bae Sahib. She also accused me of telling lies, abused me very much, and ordered me not to mention all this to any person for the future. After the return from Poona of Mhar Row, the Raja's Dada, the Raja and his lady strived all in their power to induce him to give in a writing that Govind Row was an Impostor, but he refused to do so, saying that he had already given a writing to the Sircar that he was no impostor, and asked them how he could give them a writing to the effect they required. I was present at this time and have mentioned all I know.

(3) *Statement of Ranoojee Simpey Moodholecur, 14th February 1827 :—*

Q. What do you know regarding the person now styling himself Govind Row Raja at Poona ?

A. About two months ago Myputtv Caullui, Shettawapa Powar Booputti Sing, and I were sent by Venkut Row Raja from Coomptae to go and see him. We went to Poona accordingly and having seen recognized him to be the very identical Govind Row, of which there is no doubt but as all those who declare so, incur the present Raja's displeasure, and I am a poor man in his service, and as He owes me about Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 6,000 for clothes &c. purchased from me. I am fearful I will lose all this if my name is mentioned. I cannot therefore mention all the particulars, but it is the same Govind Row and this will appear if the Sircar make enquiries, why then should my name appear out.

(No. 20) The Government in a letter to the Political Agent mentions that Govind Rao's claim to private property only will be conducted on strictly judicial principles, and for this he must prefer his claim in the first instance to the Political Agent at Dharwar.

(pp. 78-79).

To

The Pol. Agent,
S. M. Country.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 28th ultimo with its enclosures regarding the person styling himself Govind

Row Raja Moodholekur. In referring you to my letter of the 2nd instant, I am directed to observe that the Political questions having been decided by the agreement with the present incumbent there only remains a claim to private property which should be conducted on strictly Judicial principles though with all the forms usual in transacting business with jageerdars.

Govind Row must with first instance prefer his claim to you. After receiving the reply of the opposite party and having the evidence on both sides, the G. C. [Governor in Council] request that you will submit the result to Government which will decide on the case if it appeared to be one which calls for its interference.

10th April 1827

(No. 21). 'Govindrao' insists on his examination at Poona before sending him to Dharwar for further investigation in his case.

(pp. 80-81).

Substance of a letter from the person calling himself Govind Row Raja Ghorparey Moodholekur at Poona to the Honourable the Governor dated 17th Suffer or 10th September 1827.

In reply to this letter which I wrote to you Sir, from Chincholy, I was directed to repair to Poona, in obedience to which I came to that place my affairs were about to be settled, when you, Sir, took your departure for Bombay, I remained at the above named place [Poona], I have written you, Sir, many letters, but have not received a favourable answer. I have been directed to proceed to Dharwar. I am ready to go there, but I never saw that place, and there is no one there of my acquaintance from the time I was child. I have always resided here [at Poona] and therefore the investigation of my being the person I pretend to be or an impostor, should take place at Poona after which orders would be issued for my going to Dharwar for settlement of my claims on the Estate. I have been now at Poona for the space of a year, and have become much involved in debt. I am distressed for means besides which, I am much embarrassed by reason of the debts formerly contracted, on account of the Paishwas Government.

My relation Lukshman Rao Rajey who is at Baroda, is about to come here and I am waiting his arrival which will take place soon, subsequent to which having visited You, Honourable Sir, I will then agreeably to your commands proceed to Dharwar on Justice being done there, it will then rest with you Sir to arrange respecting my Estate.

(No. 22) "Govindrao's" request is refused by the Government.

(pp. 82-83).

To

The Persian Secretary.

With reference to the translation of a letter from the person calling himself Govind Row Rajey Ghorparay dated the 10th Instant praying that an investigation into his claim may take place at Poona I am directed to request that you will refer this person to the former answer & at the same time acquaint him that the G. C. [Governor in Council] declines receiving him until his rights to the Character he has assumed shall have undergone an investigation.

B. C. [Bombay Castle]

22nd September 1827.

(No. 23) Govindrao again petitions Government for his enquiry at Poona first.

(pp. 84-85).

To

The Hon'ble the Governor in Council

The humble Petition of Govind Row Rajay Ghorpuddy
of Moodhol, now in Poonah.

That your Petitioner is now living in Poonah with his eldest sister, Grand-mother and family together with his former people, and they are well acquainted with him and also all the people of Moodhol Village are with your Petr. [Petitioner] and likewise Soondorker Seerow Hindoorow Ghorpuray¹ has visited to your Piitioner at Poonah with all his troops &ca. and they are truly satisfied with him as he is of that family and beg that your Honor may be also satisfied with him at Poonah, but that the step Brother of your Petitioner is refusing to accept your Petr. in consequence that your Petr. will be entitled to the produce &ca. of that village.

Therefore your Petitioner may be ordered to proceed at Dharwar for the enquiry thereof but begs to submit that he shall be first examined at Poonah also previous to his departure, and wishing to visit your honor as directed as your Honor is protector to him in every respect.

and your Petitioner shall ever pray.

Pt. Govind Rajay Ghorpudey.

Poonah.

25th September 1827.

(No. 24) The Persian Secretary was again directed "to refer the petitioner to the answer returned to his letter, dated the 10th September last." (Government letter, dated 20th October 1827).

(p. 86).

(No. 25) Minute by the Governor, Sir John Malcolm, giving the account of the Pretender and his trial by a Punchayat held by the principal native chiefs of the Southern Maratha Country, declaring the so called Govind Rao to be an imposter.

(P. D. Vol. 48/372—1829-33 pp. 3-10).

Minute by the President, Bombay 20th February 1829.

The person calling himself Govind Row Raj Gorepurah [Ghorpade] of Moodhole, was brought down from Hindoostan to Poona by the Grand-mother of the present Raja Venkut Row Gorpure. A young woman, who was almost in childhood left a widow by the late Govind Row, was induced by her elder relative to acknowledge the Pretender as her husband, to join him and live with him

¹ Shivrão Hindurao Ghorpade—the chief of Sondur State in Madras Presidency.

² Sir John Malcolm (1769-1833)—came to India in the E. I's service in 1782; Envoy to Persia, 1799-1801; Political Officer with General Wellesly in the outbreak of the English-Maratha war, 1803; Resident at Sindhia's Court, 1804; made treaties with Sindhia and Holkar; Political Agent to the Governor General, and Brig. General with the Army of the Deccan in the Pindari-Maratha War, 1817-18; Governor of Bombay, 1827-1830. *DIB*, p. 271.

as his wife. This and other circumstances, probably of an interested nature, induced several members of the Gorepure family to support the impostor's claims some openly others clandestinely; amongst the former was Luxmon Row¹ Gorpure, a half brother of the present Vencut Row, and a full brother of the deceased Govind Row, the father of whom Narain Row had two wives, whose children appear to have been fostered in hostility to each other. The party thus supported gathered strength at Poona, and urged an investigation into their rights; they however avoided for a length of time to repair, as they have frequently been directed, to the Poll. Agent at Dharwar, a place which from its vicinity to the possessions of the Moodhole family and other Marhatta Chiefs, was best adopted for the investigation of the claims. At length the impostor's party made its appearance at Dharwar, and the Political Agent deputed Mr. Elliot to examine evidence. This was only concluded when I arrived at Kulludghee² [Kalghatgi], and the impression which its result left upon the minds of Messrs. Nisbet³ and Elliot was altogether unfavourable to the claim brought forward; the party urged further enquiry in a long list of evidence of persons, many of whom were unknown, many being in Candeish or elsewhere, and some few residing in the Southern Marhatta Country, or its vicinity; among these last were the Sir Luskur, Rastia and several Gorepures.

The evidence⁴ taken by Mr. Elliot was laid before me, before I reached Belgaum⁵ and I had been previously joined by the pretended Govind Row and by Vencut Row, who was importunate in urging the speedy decision of claims, the existence of which inflicted dishonor on himself, and many of the chiefs of highest rank in the Marhatta countries connected with his family.

As many of the Sirdars of the highest rank were present with my camp, I desired that the claims of the person calling himself Govind Row Raja should be investigated and decided by them assembled as a *Panchayat*⁶. Some doubts were entertained of the safety of allowing so many high spirits to meet and discuss points, which would naturally lead to much angry arguments; the minds too of the contending parties were much irritated and as the final rejection of their claims would involve them in disgrace and infamy; it was feared that the party, against whom the decision was made, might be goaded to an act of desperation. A punchayat however was decided upon, and the Chieftains, of whom it was to be composed, Chintamun Row⁷, the head of the Putwurdun family,

¹ In a Marathi letter, Lakshman Rao Ghorpade has requested the Raja of Kolhapur, for his mediation in the matter. Gujar, *Karvir Chhatrapati Gharanyachya Itihasachi Sadhane*, vi, L. 137.

² *Kalghatgi*—Head quarters of Kalghatgi Taluka of Dharwar District.

³ Mr. Nisbet—The Political Agent, Dharwar.

⁴ The papers of evidences taken by Mr. Elliot, or his report on the subject, could not be traced out in Bombay Records. These papers were also not forwarded to the Board of Directors in London, *vide* their letter dated 1st August 1832, (*vide* No. 45).

⁵ *Belgaum*—Head quarters of Belgaum District situated in 15°, 51' N. and 74°, 31' E. *IGI (BP)* ii. p. 18.

⁶ *Panchayat*—This term was used in Peshwa Period for a native court of arbitration, consisting of five or more members chosen by the parties themselves, or appointed by the civil officers of the government, for the determination of petty disputes among the people (Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 629). In the above case, the "*Panchayat*" consisted of the prominent persons and jageerdars which can be considered to be a rare one.

⁷ Chintamun Rao Patwardhan—the First Ruler of Sangli State.

Sidojee Naik¹, Sir Lushkur of Neepanee, Bulwant Row Rastia², Gopal Row Puttwurdun³, Purseram Bhow Puttwurdun⁴, Umbajee Ghatkee⁵ [Ghatage] and some others of inferior rank, were invited to meet at the residence of Chintamun Row. Objections having been raised to meeting at the house of any individual, I gave up the Durbar Tent for the use of the Sirdars. The evidence that had been called for, and a very large concourse of the persons of rank and respectability then in camp, its vicinity, assembled about 4 in the evening of the first of January [1829]. The utmost order and regularity prevailed, the original evidences taken by Mr. Elliot was first read, and queries were afterwards put to the pretended Govind Row. Some of these are detailed in the *Yads* or Memoranda given in by the Sirdars. Prior to a question being asked, the Chief who put the query explained privately to the Member of the *Punchayat* and others the actual circumstances of the case, so that they might be better Judges of the correctness of the answer. For instance the Sir Lushkur informed them that during the war he had prepared an expensive feast (*Zeafut*)⁶ for Govind Row, which was not attended by him, owing to his having been annoyed with the Sir Lushkur for refusing to present him with a favourite House to which he had taken a fancy. The pretender was then asked alone what were the causes, which put a stop to the Sir Lushkur's *Zeafut* to Govind Rao and the reasons of the displeasure of the latter. He could give no explanation, except that he had forgot. In this manner a series of questions were put. The former writing of Govind Row was then compared with the handwriting of the Pretender and he was invited to converse in Canarese, which was his Native tongue, being unable to do this, his answers to the queries having been entirely unsatisfactory, and the whole string of evidence invalidating his claims, the proceedings of the *Panchayet* closed. Chintamon Row, the Sir Lushkur, and Rastia immediately declared guilty on their honour. The other Sirdars said they would send in their written verdicts, which it was agreed should be done by all.

Prior to the breaking up of the assembly, the Pretender's party presented a folded paper to Chintamun Row, which he immediately returned unopened, saying that their proceedings had closed, and that any thing further either party might have to say must be stated to the Governor.

The Chiefs then retired and the assembled crowds dispersed at 11 p.m. with the utmost order.

Each member of the *Punchayet* afterwards sent in his written opinion, which was followed by the proclamation, which I thought it proper to publish, and in which the punishment of the pretender was rendered more lenient than his crime merited, out of consideration for the ladies of the Gorpure's family.

¹ Sidhoji Rao Naik Nimbalkar, *Sar Lashkar*, the Chief of Nipani State.

² Balwant Rao Raste—son of Madhavrao Raste, the descendant of Shamji Naik. He was living formerly at Wai and then at Talikota (in Bijapur District). He had personal estates of Rs. 60,000 annually in the Southern Maratha country. *Bharatwarsha II, Maharashtra Mandalachi Bakhar*, pp. 34-36.

³ Gopal Rao Patwardhan, the Chief of Jamkhandi State.

⁴ Parashuram Bhau Patwardhan—the Chief of Miraj State.

⁵ Ambaji Ghatage—A descendant of the famous Ghatage, *Jhoonjarrao*, family of Malawadi. He was living at Budh (now a village in Khatav Taluka, 20 miles east of Satara). *Maharashtra Mandalachi Bakhar*, pp. 2-4.

⁶ *Zeafut*—A feast, 'an entertainment'. (Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 902).

These documents are in an appendix¹, it only remains to observe that the mode of investigating, and deciding this case appeared to give very general satisfaction.

(Signed) John Malcolm.

(No. 26) Members of the 'Panchayat', Sar Lashkar of Nipani, Chintaman Rao Patwardhan of Sangli, Parashuram Bhau Patwardhan of Miraj, Gopal Rao Patwardhan of Jamkhandi, Ambaji Rao Ghatage, gave their written opinion regarding the impostor of Govind Rao. Sar Lashkar of Nipani, in his statement, said that he was "not sufficiently familiar with Govind Rao's features to speak with certainty as to his identity." Gopal Rao Patwardhan denied having much personal knowledge of Govind Rao. Ambaji Rao Ghatage said that he was not the real Govind Rao. Similar opinion was expressed by Chintaman Rao Patwardhan of Sangli, the translation of whose detailed statement is given below :

(pp. 23-26)

Memorandum by Chintaman Rao Patwardhan of Sangli :

The Honourable the Governor having assembled a *Punchayet* at Belgaon for the purpose of ascertaining the identity or otherwise of the person styling himself Govind Row Ghorepurey. Enquiry was accordingly made and his falsity proved on the following grounds :—

First—This person's title to his assumed character having been already investigated by the Surkar the papers connected with that investigation have been produced (to the assembly) by Ballajee Punt Nathoo. Among these is a letter in the hand writing of Govind Row Rajah addressed to his father. The pretended Govind Row was therefore desired to draw up a letter in the form in which he used to write to his father Narrain Row Rajah. He did write one with his own hand, but on comparing this with the other a great difference in the handwriting is apparent which is against him.

Second—The pretended Govind Row having by the orders of Government been confronted with some of the Kittoorkur's people at Dharwar, his answers to the questions put to him are contradictory.

Third—At Belgaon the Honourable the Governor desired me, Purrusaram Bhow, Bulwant Row Rastayah, the Sur Lushkur, Mallojee Row Ghorepurrey, Dajeeba Ghorepurrey, Ambajee Row Ghatgey, Baleajee Punt Nathoo and others to question the person calling himself Govind Row concerning his knowledge of the Canarese Language and on various other points. We did so and likewise interrogated him regarding some memorable events that occurred during the War. The substance of his replies is as follows :—

First—He did not give any answer to a question put to him in the Canarese language.

Second—To a question as to when and where he met me, he replied "at Brahminwarree".

Remarks by Chintamon Row—I never saw him at Brahminwarree.

Third—On being asked when Bappoo Gokla's son died—at what time and place his wife immolated herself and who accompanied her to the pyre—He

¹ See Nos. 26 and 27.

answered first that she immolated herself at Eleven *Ghutkas* of the day her husband died. Secondly that her *Suttee* took place at the third *Puhar* (about 3 p.m.) of that day and thirdly that Gokla's son died at Brahminwarree and that his widow immolated herself the next day at the Moolkhurree River and that *Sreemunt* [Peshwa Bajirao II] was present, but he afterwards retracted all these in a manner by saying he could not well remember.

Remark by Chintamon Row—Bapoo Gokla's daughter-in-law did not go *suttee* on the day of her husband's death nor the following one. She immolated herself on the third day, *Sreemunt* was not present on the occasion.

On being asked why Appa Sahib Sur Lushkur was displeased with the marriage of Venkut Row Ghorepurry he assigned a cause quite different for that given by the Sur Lushkur himself.

From the foregoing it does not appear to me that this person is the real Govind Row, though many affirm that he is. I was not however personally acquainted with Govind Row.

Dated 6th of *Rujjub*, in the year *Tissa Ushreen Myatine* [12 January 1829].

(No. 27) In a proclamation, the Government comes to the conclusion about the reality of the pretended Govind Rao. He is ordered to leave the Deccan within two months, failing which he would be seized and imprisoned and suffer the punishment.

(pp. 11-13).

Proclamation issued by the Honourable the Governor, dated 15th January 1829 :
Be it known &ca.

The evidence taken by Mr. Elliot in the case of the pretended Govind Row Ghorepure having been examined, and the opinions of the several Chiefs who sat in Panchayet at Belgaum on the 1st of January 1829 to examine the claims of this person having been received, it appears evident that he is an Impostor, and the following orders are consequently promulgated.

The person pretending to be Govind Row Ghorepure must quit the Deccan immediately and never more revive pretensions that have been proved to be false ; if he does he will be seized and punished as an Impostor and disturber of the public peace.

Any persons hereafter assisting or supporting the pretensions of this man shall forfeit the favor and consideration of Government, and be treated and punished as his abettors.

As the pretended Govind Row and his adherents, thought they have totally failed in all proof of his identity, have not committed any outrage upon the Public Peace, they and all connected with them are allowed to retire without further punishments, but should they ever revive these unfounded claims in any shape or manner, they will suffer the full punishments of such crimes.

The Ladies of the Ghorepure family who from inexperience and intrigue have been led into error, are to be protected from injury and oppression, and are placed at full liberty to return to their homes or to accompany the Impostor ; but in

the latter event they are never to return to the Deccan without the consent of Government, obtained by the application and intercession of the head of the family.

The pretended Govind Row is instantly to pass to the north side of the Krishna and to leave the Deccan within two months; if after the expiration of this period he is found within its limits, he will be seized and imprisoned, and suffer his full punishments.

All persons are hereby called upon to give information to Government should this person calling himself Govind Row, by them be known to be in the Deccan after the expiration of 2 months¹.

(No. 28) The Political Agent was directed to ascertain the wishes of the ladies accompanying the pretender (Bombay Government Letter, dated 16th January 1826).

(pp. 39-40).

(No. 29) The Political Agent informs the Government that Jankibai, wife of Govind Rao, has joined the pretender calling him her real husband inspite and although she was told the Government decision calling him impostor.

(pp. 41-42).

To

William Newnham Esquire,
Chief Secretary to Government,
Bombay.

Sir,

With reference to your letter, dated the 16th Ultimo, I have the honor to acquaint you, for the information of the Honorable the Governor in Council, that Jankee Bae, the widow of the late Govind Row Raja Ghorepurra, has quitted Dharwar with the professed determination of sharing the fate of the person whom she still persists in calling her husband, but, more probably, with the intention of remaining with her brother-in-law Luchman Rao Ghorpurra, who sent an Escort from Poona for her. The decision of the Honorable the Governor in regard to the pretended Govind Row was fully explained and every argument used to deter her from persevering in her improper course, but without any effect. The other Ladies, her companions, have also been advised to return to the head of their family, the Chief of Moodhole, but have not yet done so.

Dharwar,

25th February 1829.

1. The Marathi translation of the above Proclamation was forwarded to the Political Agent at Dharwar and the Agent for Sirdars in Deccan, Poona, "for giving it the utmost publicity through the Deccan territories". (Bombay Government letters dated 14th July 1829). (P.D. Vol. 48/372 of 1829-33, pp. 43-46).

(No. 30) Lakshman Rao Ghorpade (the younger brother of Govind Rao) who still believes that the pretender is his real brother, points out some defects in the enquiry conducted by the Government and requests to enquire in the other manners till this dispute be laid at rest.

(pp. 30-32).

Translation of a Memo : by Luximon Row Rajah who solicits a favorable consideration of its contents.

(Dated 12th January 1829)

Venkut Row Rajah affirms that Govind Row Baba is an Impostor. On what does he ground his affirmation? Or if he really is so why does he lavish his money to prove the fact?

I hear that Govind Row is about to depart, but I beg Honorable Sir, that he may be detained till this dispute be laid at rest.

At Belgaon a number of native gentlemen were appointed to investigate the affair, but the Nipaneekur is his [Venkut Row's] father-in-law and though some of his followers are my relatives they out of partiality to their superior will side with him in any question.

At the enquiry at Belgaon several proofs were adduced of his identity which Your Honorable Sirs were no doubt informed of. The great Surdars are all friends among themselves and cannot well break those bonds of friendship. One here and there may possibly be found to speak according to the dictates of his conscience but the great majority are influenced by partiality.

Be pleased Honorable Sirs to enquire of any relative in the Poona District where there are many and of Siteley, Ghorepurrey and others who are now with the *Sawaree* and the truth will appear.

I am in poor circumstances and no one looks towards the poor, all cling to the rich, but you are European Gentlemen, add to your reputation then by instituting an Enquiry and bring this affair to a conclusion. Until finally settled the District of Moodhole should be placed under attachment, and when the truth or falsity of the person be decided, on whichever you are pleased to bestow it upon may enjoy it in quiet. I only wish to maintain my Honor You should place Maha Row Rajah Ajeeba [the Grand uncle of Govind Rao, Lakshman Rao and Vyankat Rao], in the Krishna River and question him. The *Ryuts* of the Poona Petta and of the Wuttunee Village of Bhandur should likewise be made to stand in that river and questioned.

Bappoo Siteley, after the war, accompanied Govind Row as far as Chincholee in the Province of Khandesh, and his mother went there and having recognized her son (Siteley) brought him back with her and on her death shortly after Bappoo Siteley performed her funeral obsequies. This person and his relations should be called and questioned.

Such is my representation and it is for your Honorable Sirs who are my superiors to render me justice. *7th Poush Shoodh Shuke 1750* [12th January 1829].

(No. 31) The Governor's minute and the Proclamation regarding the Impostor was forwarded for the information of the Supreme Government (Bombay Government Letter to Chief Secretary, Fort William, dated 14th July 1829).

(pp. 47-48)

(No. 32) 'Govind Rao' urges the new Governor to re-open his case.

(pp. 50-52)

To

His Excellency,

The Right Honorable the Earl of Clare,¹

President and Governor in Council, Bombay.

My Lord,

Years have passed away that I have in vain endeavoured to obtain justice for the manifold injuries I have suffered.

I am incapable of conveying the expression of my grief at the degradation to which I am reduced.

If, my Lord, your generosity and sympathy, will yield an attentive consideration to my case and give to me the advantage of an enquiry (a boon which every British Subject may demand, and every British Tribunal will allow) the blackest die of criminality will be proved against the authors, who have confederated together, to deprive me of all that is dear to man.

Would to Heaven, My Lord, that it had been by an assassin's blow or his desperate villainy and intrigue, that I am left to deplore my lost Estate and character in Life : but the Truth must bring forth the monstrous deformity of corruption, there, where, least it could be expected, to have held its empire.

Your Lordship will have perused a part of my case in the *Gazette*² of the 27th of last Month, and I humbly solicit your generous attention to the enclosed Document, which contains the proceedings generally, to the date of the proclamation, which brands me as an Impostor, and disposes of all my Rights to a younger Brother, by a second mother.

"O, that a man might know,

"The end of this day's business 'ere it come.

"But it sufficeth, that the day will end,

"And then the end is known".

With respectful submission I have the honor to subscribe myself my Lord,

Yours Lordship's,

Most Obedient, and

very humble Servant,

8th May 1831

गोविंदराव राजे घोरपडे मुधोळकर

[Signature in Modi Script],

Govind Row Ghorpude.

¹ John Fitzgibbon, Second Earl of Clare, born June 10, 1792, son of the First Earl, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, succeeded his father in 1802, Governor of Bombay, 27 March, 1831 till 17th March 1835. *DIB*, pp. 82-83.

² A statement of the case of Govind Rao Ghorpade was published in the *Bombay Gazette* of the 27th April 1831 the matter being the same as in the enclosure to the above letter.

Accompaniments to the above :— In this Statement, the so called Govind Rao relates how he disappeared from the last scene of the last battle and gives an account of years spent by him in disguise, his re-appearance in the Deccan, then how he was recognized by his relatives and Government officers failed to identify him with resulting to issuing proclamation and asking him to quit the Deccan. He also gives translations of some letters received by him from the Government officers, and in the end a lengthy list of the names of the persons in the Deccan, who recognized him as Govind Rao.

(pp. 53-85)

Statement of the Case of Govind Row Ghorpude claiming the Title and Dominions of the Rajah of Moodhole.

The claimant Govind Row Ghorpudi is the eldest son of Narrayan Row late Rajah of Moodhol. The latter Chief belonged to the first class of Mahratta princes and held large *jagheers* in the Southern Mahratta Country. The title of his family was Rajah and the seat of his *Musnud* or throne was Moodhol whence he was called Rajah of Moodhol. He left three sons namely Govind Row, the claimant, Luxoomun Row and Vencut Row. The latter is now in possession of the revenues and authority of the family. On the death of Narrayan Row his eldest son Govind Row succeeded to the *Musnud* and as head of the family, resided at the Peshwa's Court in Poona where he commanded the proportion of troops furnished by his state and in which city he owned a distinct quarter built by his great grandfather Malojee Row and called after the family name Ghorpudi Petha. At the battle of Ashta which decided the fate of the Mahratta Empire the three brothers were present and fought on the Peshwa's side, Govind Row being in command of the Moodhol troops. In this memorable action Govind Row fell, wounded by two musquets, and one bayonet wound about the same time that Bappoo Gokla the Commander in Chief of the Mahrattas was killed. As soon as the English troops went in pursuit of the Peshwa and the ground was left clear Govind Row arose and went to the house of a Patell where he remained two days and had his wounds staunch—
 from thence having sent intelligence to his family of his being alive he proceeded to Tooljapoor¹ where he remained concealed till he had quite recovered. Being apprehensive that if taken he would be put to death or imprisoned for life by the English for the active part he had taken in the war he resolved to remain disguised and hence he proceeded to Hindoostan having changed his dress and name and assumed the disguise and name of a *Gosaie*. There he remained wandering about from city to city and from Province to Province for the space of six years in the hope that some fortunate resolution, might restore the Peshwa to his Throne and himself to security and his former possessions. Here it is necessary to leave him in order to explain what became of his two brothers one of whom Vencut Row is now unjustly possessed of his (Govind Row's) patrimony. It is first necessary to state that Vencut Row the youngest son was born of a different mother from the other two and as is usual in such cases a considerable animosity had long subsisted between him and his step-brothers which latter were united by the strictest ties of friendship as well as common maternity, Luxoomon Row had followed the Peshwa's fallen fortunes and

¹ Tuljapur, the famous sacred place in Osmanabad District. In one of the statements collected by Narsingrao Sondur (*vide* No. 17) it is stated that Govind Rao and his companions went to Pandharpur, and not to Tuljapur.

accompanied, him in his flight till he was persuaded to retire from the hopeless contest by Shew Row Panwar [Pawar] chief of Nugger Dewla¹ to whose Daughter he was betrothed. He was married to her in Nugger Dewla and from thence he retired to a *Jagheer* which he possessed in the Gaikwar's Territory and there he has since remained receiving from the Gaikwar an annual income of 60,000 Rupees besides the aforesaid *Jagheer*. His reason for not proceeding to Moodhol was his fear of Vencut Row to whose proceedings we now hasten. Vencut Row after the battle fled for protection to his father-in-law. Siddoojee Row chief of Nipani who following the persuasion of the English had remained neuter in the war and was consequently in high favour with them. Siddoojee Row therefore interceded with Mr. Elphinstone and Mr. Chaplin for his son-in-law and got him established upon the *Musnud* of Moodhol, Govind Row (having fallen at Ashtee and not having been since heard of) being supposed dead and Luxoomon Row not having appeared to make his submission or to advance his claims. In this state affairs remained till four years ago when the final settlement of the Mahratta states was nearly brought to a close at the period Govind Row having heard that not only the lives of the chiefs who fought against the English were spared but that most of them who had submitted were restored to their possessions with certain deductions made for the part they had taken resolved to come forward and make himself known in the hopes that the like indulgence might be extended to him. The circumstance of Vencut Row's being put in possession of the Moodhol state was a further inducement for as the latter had been as active in the war as he, he deserved not better of the English and as they had conceded the Territories to the family Govind Row considered that in making himself known to the Government they would in Justice concede them to him who was by right of birth the head of that family and had before possessed them. He accordingly wrote a letter from Chinchore [Chincholi] in Candish to Mr. Elphinstone informing him of his being alive and praying that he might be restored to his dominions on the same terms as the other Mahratta chiefs. Mr. Elphinstone in return ordered him to come to Poona as appears by the letter Translation of which is hereto annexed (Marked A). A short time after he came to Poona in compliance with this order and took up his residence in the House of a chief called Odekur where his grand uncle Mhar Row [Maha Rao] saw and acknowledged him publicly—at this time his own house in Poona was locked up by Vencut Rows orders—but his grand uncle Mhar Row broke open the doors and carried Govind Row to live there saying that while he owned a quarter of the city himself it did not become him to live in the house of a stranger. Vencut Row on hearing of this complained to Mr. Elphinstone that an impostor assuming the name of his deceased brother (for Vencut does not pretend to dispute the fact of having two step-brothers before the Battle of Ashtee) had appeared in Poona and taken forcible possession of his house. Upon this Govind Row was by an order of Mr. Elphinstone arrested and confined in the old palace as a state prisoner for Two Months. During this interval Captain Robertson, the Collector and Magistrate of Poona issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of that city stating that Govind Row was an impostor and cautioning them not to lend him money or give him any assistance. About two Months after arrest Govind Row was released pursuant to the intimation of

Lakshman
Rao retired to
Gaikwad
territory.

Final settle-
ment of the
Deccan.

Govind Rao
ordered to
come to
Poona.

Recognized
by Grand
uncle.

Vyancat
Rao's
complaint.

Govind Rao
arrested.

And released.

¹. *Nagar Dewla*—Town in the Pachora Taluka of East Khandesh District, situated in 20 35 N. and 75 16 E. *IGI (BP)* ii. p. 447.

Government in their letter of the 3rd January 1827, and hereto annexed and Marked B. The causes which led to his release were—the declaration of Mhar Row that he (Mhar Row) had broken open the house and that Govind Row was no impostor but his real Grand Nephew. This was followed by the attestation of his Grand Aunt, his sister, his wife and several of his old followers who had declared that he was the Real Govind Row, chief of Moodhol who had fallen at Ashtee, and his recognition by his brother too (Luxoomon Row) who came to Poona and having seen him instantly embraced and acknowledged him as his long lost brother and gave a written statement to that effect to Mr. Robertson. The consequence was Mr. Robertson published a second proclamation (in the Translation of which is annexed and Marked B). The Rajah of Collapoor [Kolhapur] who was there in Poona gave an entertainment to Mr. Elphinstone at which he introduced¹ Govind Row to that Gentleman and declared him to be the real chief. Mr. Elphinstone promised to give him a future interview but was afterwards supposed to have been dissuaded from doing so by Ballajee Punt Nathoo² his confidential agent (and who was formerly the Spy for the Resident and betrayed all the Councils of the Peshwa previous to the commencement of the war). This man was in the interest of Vencut Row and there are now documents, in Govind Row's possession proving that he had received a bribe of 50,000 Rupees from that Chief to oppose the claim of Govind Row. The Consequence was that Mr. Elphinstone deceived by this individual, refused to receive Govind Row but referred him to the Judicial authorities in Dharwar if he wished to prove the title to the *Musnud* of Moodhol. Mr. Elphinstone shortly afterwards went home and Govind Row was again directed by his successor Sir John Malcolm to proceed to Dharwar for the prosecution of his claims in the Zilla Court. He accordingly went there in the expectation of Justice but what Justice he received may be gathered from the following facts. Mr. Elliott was ordered to Examine his claims. *His Brother Luxoomon Row, his Grand Uncle Mhar*

Introduced to Elphinstone.

Balaji Pant Intervened.

Enquiry at Dharwar & Belgaum.

¹ Lakshman Rao writes to the Raja of Kolhapur (12-5-1828)— “पुणें मुक्कामी गोरनेर साहेब बहादूर याची व बाबा साहेबाची भेटी करविली ते सेवदास नेहणेस वडील मालक अधिकारी आपणच आह्म.” Gujar, *op. cit.*, vi. L. 137.

² Balaji Pant Natu was originally an inhabitant of Panchwad near Wai. He was recommended for employment in the Peshwa's services by one Mahadeo Shastri. (*SPD.* 41-I). Balaji Pant Natu became a *Karkun* of Khanderao Raste (Grant Duff, *OP. CIT.* ii, p. 470 f.n.), and after Khanderao's death, was appointed one of the guardians of his infant son. When Elphinstone held the enquiry into Gangadhar Shastri's murder, he was one of the witnesses who gave evidence against Trimbakji. The Peshwa regarded Natu's friendship with Elphinstone with suspicion, and in order to win him over, offered him a post on a monthly pay of 500 rupees. Natu acquainted the Resident of the Peshwa's offer, and Elphinstone at once took him into his employment to procure secret intelligence from the Peshwa's court. He was given the same pay as proposed by the Peshwa an extraordinarily high amount for an informer in those days. Balaji Pant Natu also acted as a mediator between the British Government and the Peshwa's officers. In October 1815, he was paid 3,000 Rupees with which he brought over some of the Peshwa's clerks and obtained 'access to the secret daftar of the Poona Government'. (Gupta, *Baji Rao II and the East India Company*, pp. 171-172). When the English became the masters of Poona Balaji Pant Natu came out from the British camp with 200 soldiers and hoisted the British flag on the Peshwa's place. He was appointed to work under Grant Duff, the Resident of Satara on the salary of Rs. 500 p.m. He was granted many *watans* by the British Government. Lastly he went on pilgrimage to Benaras and died there in 1850.

Row, his Grand Aunt Parvatie Bae, his Sister Konda Bae, his Wife Jankee Bae, about thirty of his old followers and forty Chiefs gave in writing upon their Oaths that he was the real Govind Row, Chief of Moodhol and that they had no doubt whatever of his identity, and yet in a month afterwards Sir John Malcolm issued a proclamation stating that "The person calling himself Govind Row had failed in proving his identity—that he was an impostor", that therefore he should quit the Deccan within Two months and never appear there again under pain of summary punishment, that no person must dare henceforth to call him Govind Row Ghorpude, nor acknowledge his identity nor assist him with money or means under pain of being punished for treason, and that as for the Women who acknowledged his Identity, and lived with him they had done so either through female ignorance or had been cajoled by his villainy but that they were at liberty either to stay or go with the impostor as they pleased. The effects of this proclamation upon Govind Row's fortunes are fatal, it brands him as an impostor and his relations as perjurers and his wife as a prostitute, it for ever prevents him urging his claims to the territorial possessions of his father in Moodhol or his Houses in Poona, or the Monies which in former days he has lent and the deposits of Jewelery he had entrusted to several individuals, it does more, it cuts off his means of subsistence, for having no money he has hitherto depended upon his credit with the Merchant of Poona for his expenditure, but that credit is now no more for none dare now speak the truth, his very brother and sister are threatened with death if they acknowledge their brother. Govind Row has now in his possession all the ancient grants made to his family by the Kings of Beejapoor and the Emperors of Delhi and other documents of a voluminous nature the Authenticity of which is acknowledged by Colonel Briggs in his work on the *Genealogy of the Mahratta Chiefs*¹ and he states that had he a just and impartial tribunal before which he could confront his step-brother face to face and plead his claims, he is ready to produce them and to adduce many other proofs and circumstances which have not been touched upon in this sketch of his history. Such is the statement of the grievances of Govind Row Ghorpude the claimant which he wishes to have submitted to Counsel not so much for the purpose of eliciting any opinion upon his claims as for that of ascertaining whether the Kings Supreme Court at Bombay is Competent to decide upon his claims to the Title and dominions of the Rajah of Moodhol were a suit to be instituted in that court for the purpose and if it be so competent whether it hath power to put him in possession of those rights assuming he should be declared the rightful heir to the *musnud*. If the Supreme Court has no Jurisdiction the claimant wishes to know to what Court or Tribunal he should resort for redress and whether he can prefer his claims directly to the King in Council or the Parliament of England or whether it must be in the shape of an appeal from the decision of some Provincial Court in this country. Whatever Court or Tribunal has jurisdiction whether it be in the Supreme Court of Bombay, the Privy Counsel or Parliament of England—or the provincial Courts

Declared as
Impostor.

Documents
in his
possession.

Whether an
appeal can be
done to the
Supreme
Council or to
a higher
authority.

¹ Published in G. W. Forrest's "*Selections from the letters Despatches, and other papers preserved in the Bombay Secretariat, Maratha Series,*" Vol. I. Part III, p. 666. About 'Ghorpade family of Mudhol', it says, "The first authentic account of this branch of the Bhonsla family is to be found in an original letter from Shivaji to Maloji Ghorpade, dated Bhagnuggur, when he was forming a connexion with the king of Golkonda. This curious document in the hands of Govindrao Ghorpade, together with other documents of the same time, cannot, for a moment be doubted."

in this Country counsel will please to advise the mode of proceeding and the parties which ought to be made the defendants. It is also wished that Counsel will advise upon the legality of the proceedings adopted under the sanction of the Governor in Council and how far those proceedings are binding upon the claimant and whether any proceeding can be had against any of the authorities which have directed or adjudged these proceedings and the claimant is most anxious that Counsel should advise what appears the most advisable step for him to adopt.

Enclosures to the above statement :—

(A) Translation of an Original Mahratta Letter

To the compassionate and Kind Master the conferrer of benefits upon friends Govind Row Rajah Ghorpude may he be safe.
From Mr. William Henry Wathen, Persian Secretary to Government with his greetings of happiness.

Further knowing our welfare here you should be ever committing to writing your our glad tiding.

Moreover the memorial which you sent has been received. The following answer is written thereto by order of the Hon'ble the Governor in Council :—

“It is necessary that your identity be established, wherefore you must immediately set out and come to Poona.”

Despatched on the 29th Moon of the Month *Shavel* in the year of *Soor Sun* One thousand, two hundred and twenty-seven, Mahomedan, English date the 6th of June our Christe 1826. What more is necessary to write? be friendly this is my letter.

(Sign) In English/

W. H. Wathen,

P. S. [Persian Secretary] Government.

(B) Translation of a Mahratta Notification

Notification to the person calling himself Govind Row Rajah Ghorpude in the year of *Soor Sun* One thousand two hundred and twenty-seven.

You sent in a memorial bearing date the 14th of *Margsirshood* requesting that you might be set at liberty, and that an investigation of your claims might take place in Poona. That memorial has been laid before the Honorable the Governor and the following answer thereto is written by order of his Honour :—

“An order has gone hence for your liberation, but for the investigations of your claims, you must in conformity with the order formerly issued proceed to Mr. Baber Principal Collector and Political Agent in the *Soobha* of Dharwar.”

Despatched on the 4th Moon of *Jumadilakhee* in the year of *Soor Sun* one thousand two hundred and twenty seven Mahomedan—English date the 3rd of January an Christ 1827.

(Signed) in English.....

W. H. Wathen,
P. S.

(C) *Translation of a Mahratta Notification*

Notification to the person calling himself Govind Row Rajah Ghorpude. In the year of *Soor Sun* one thousand two hundred and twenty-eight, you sent a letter to the presence, bearing date the 1st Moon of *Suffer*. By order of the Honorable the Governor in Council, I write the following answer thereto :—

“An order of Government has been formerly communicated to you in writing to the effect that you must proceed to Dharwar for the investigation of your claims. You must consider that order as absolute further you have written on the Subject of Coming to have an interview, but you call yourself Govind Row Ghorpude, and unless you establish this by means of an investigation, it is not fitting to grant you an interview, wherefore you must not come.”

Despatched on the 2nd Moon of the Month *Rubee-el-aviel* Mahomedan—English date the 24th of September an Christ 1827.

(Signed) in English.

W. H. Wathen,
P. S.[to] Governor.

(D) *Translation of a Mahratta Notification*

Notification to the person calling himself Govind Row Rajah Ghorpude. In the year *Soor Sun* one thousand two hundred and twenty-eight.

You sent an English Petition bearing date the 25th of September concerning the inheritance of the Village of Moodhol. By order of the Honorable the Governor in Council I write the following answer thereto :—

“An answer bearing date the 24th of September has been formerly sent to you in writing that is final there is no other”.

Despatched on the 1st Moon of the Month *Rubbee-el-Akhee* Mahomedan, English date the 23rd of October an Christe 1827.

(Signed) in English,

W. Clerk,
Assistant P. Secretary to Government.

(E) *Translation of a Mahratta Proclamation*

Shree.



Proclamation by his worship the Magistrate of the *Soobha* of Poona the servant of the Honourable Company in the year of *Soor Sun* one thousand two hundred and twenty-eight. This proclamation is written that it be known to all persons as follows ; a letter dated the 5th of November an Christe 1827 has been received

by the Magistrate from his grace Luxoomon Row Rajah Ghorpude, that letter contains the following :—

“The Honoured Govind Row Rajah Ghorpude is my whole brother I come to have an interview with him to Poona. Having come here I have had an interview with him. At the interview all my old Marks, signs and Modes of recognition being answered I became fully satisfied. He is truly my brother. Govind Row Rajah Ghorpude, there is not the slightest doubt thereof whether before the former Proclamation affixed last year by the Government to the effect that *Until an investigation had taken place into the truth or falsehood of Govind Row Rajah's identity the Merchants should lend him no money* must be graciously annulled to this purpose that “Govind Row Rajah Ghorpude is really the person he pretends to be, should the merchants and other people of the City please to lend him money, there is no prohibition from Government whoever chooses may deal with him.” such you must see in a proclamation.”

To this effect he wrote. Thereupon this Proclamation is issued. Be it therefore known to all persons whom Luxoomon Row Rajah considers Govind Row Rajah to be and in reference to the intimation written in the former proclamation that persons should be careful in their dealing until such time as Govind Row Rajah is proved to be either the true person or a pretender, who ever is so satisfied with the declaration of Luxoomon Row Rajah as to think that after that declaration there remains no doubt of the identity of Govind Row, such persons need of course give no heed to the injunction, contained in the former proclamation. Be it known, dated the 7th of the Month of November an Christ 1881. Here follows in English the signature of Mr. Robertson the Collector.

(Signed) H. D. Robertson,
Magistrate

(F) Translation of a Mahratta letter

Mr. Robertson Bahadur, of the *Soobha* of Poona, greeting Govind Row Rajah Ghorpude, may his friendship endure for ever, further it is the pleasure of Venkut Row Rajah Ghorpude that as an order had been issued by the Honorable Governor that an investigation, to decide the identity or imposture of Govind Row Rajah should take place in Dharwar and as that order had been served upon you also and as accordingly you should have remained (I think that is an error of the copyist for “*Proceeded*” the words are like in Mahratta there and as never less you forcibly entered his house (in Poona) and broke the locks, therefore you should be tried for this affair. Thereon this letter is written to you whereupon as soon as an investigation has been held as to whether you are real Govind Row Rajah or an imposture, and if it be decided that you are an impostor, there you shall be brought back here and having been tried for forcibly entering the house sentence will be passed accordingly. But for the present you give me sufficient security to the office that you will not lay a finger on the House, the furniture and other property of his grace Venkut Row Rajah Ghorpude until such time as the investigation take place—you must give substantial security to this effect and in that you will be allowed to go—should you not give such security it will be absolutely necessary to send you to Dharwar and there you shall be sent.

Despatched on the 26th day of January an Christe 1827, what more should be written. This is my letter.

Here follows in English the signature of
Mr. Robertson's own hand.

(G) *Translation of a Mahratta letter from Mr. Thomas Henry Baber Bahadur, Principal Collector and Political Agent in the Soobha of Dharwar and ca, greeting of happiness to.*

The Compassionate, the kind, the generous conferrer of benefits upon friends and ca & ca Govind Row, may be safe. Further you say that your name is Govind Row Rajah Ghorpude of Moodhol but his grace Venkut Row Rajah Ghorpude of Moodhol does not give evidence thereto. On this account an order of Government has been issued to me directing me to investigate your case. If therefore you say that you are the very identical Govind Row Rajah Ghorpude and ca. then you must state in writing what are your Signs and marks, to whom is it known, how you escaped with your life from the battle of Ashtee, in what manner do you establish the proofs thereof, what papers and documents have you to produce in proof, should there be any wealthy persons who are acquainted with the circumstance what are their names, at present where do they reside, having written a memorial of all these circumstances together plainly and separately and intelligibly, you must send it together with all the papers and documents connected with this matter to me. The matter having been here investigated a report shall be made and laid before the Government. It will be better if you attend here at the time of the enquiry, what more should be written.

Despatched on the 8th day of April [1827] an *Fuslee* 1236, corresponding with the 11th of *Ramzan an Soor*. One thousand two hundred and twenty-seven.

Here follows in English the Signature of
Mr. Baber's hand.

(Signed) T. Baber,
P. A.

(H) List of the Principal *Sirdars, Silladars, Jahageerdars and the Principal Merchants* and subjects of Moodhol and the Provinces in Deccan, bearing Testimony in this signature of their respective own handwriting declaring that 'We have seen His Highness Govind Row Rajah Ghorpude of Moodhol from our Infancy up to the time of the late war of Poona and have very satisfactorily proved him to be truly Govind Row Rajah of Moodhol and that his claims are right for which we have not the least doubt and likewise we shall be able to give our respective evidences in his favour wherever required'. This list of evidences was presented to the Honourable Sir John Malcolm the Governor of Bombay, but notwithstanding all these proofs and only by listening to the words of Vencut Row (Govind Row Rajah's step Brother) the present Rajah of Moodhol and that of his Mother, Govind Row Rajah has been entirely disgraced and brought to the present condition. [Here (pp. 79-85) the Impostor of Govind Rao gives a list of 178 names of persons including some prominent personalities in Deccan and Southern Maratha Country, such as Shahaji Raja Chhatrapati of Kolhapur, Bajaba Naik Nimbalkar of Phaltan, Ratan Sing Jadhav Malegaonkar, Suryaji Rao Nimbalkar of Vathar, Dhar Rao Naik Nimbalkar, Malhar Rao Appa Mankeshwar, Gopal Rao Nagnath,

Anand Rao Yeshwant Vakeel of Chandi Chandavar, Narsing Rao Ghorpade of Datwad, Sadashivrao Bhopkar of Loni, Bhujang Rao Ghorpade of Gujendragad, etc.]

(No. 33) The Pretender of Govindrao is informed of the Government's decision of not altering the judgment already given.

(p. 86)

To

The Person Intending to the Modhol Estate under the name of Govind Rao Ghorpude.

In reply to your petition, dated the 29th Ultimo, with enclosures, I am directed by the R. H. G. C. [Rt. Honourable Governor in Council] to inform you that the enquiry into your claim to the Moodhol Estate by a Jury of your principal countrymen in the Southern Marratha Country on the 1st day of January 1829 is full and complete, and that Government sees no reason whatever for altering the decision then made.

8th June 1831.

(No. 34) The Pretender sends his version of the 'Panchayat' and charges Balaj Pant Natu, the controller of the 'Panchayat' of bribery received from Vyankar Rao, and requests the Governor to ascertain the real matter of fact regarding his case.

(pp. 87-90)

To

His Excellency.

The Right Honourable, The Earl of Clare, &ca, &ca, &ca,
President & Governor in Council.

My Lord,

I have with considerable pain received Mr. Chief Secretary Norris' letter dated the 8th of last month, informing me, in reply to my application of the 29th of May, that your Lordship in Council had directed him to state "that the enquiry into my claim to the Moodhol Estate by a Jury of my principal Countrymen in the Southern Marratha Country on the 1st day of January 1829 was full and complete and that Government sees no reason whatever for altering the decision then made."

Permit me, my Lord, to request that you will refer to the Statement of my case, wherein I have most clearly shown that, *Indirect* means had been observed to deprive me of my rights.

Now, with respect to the decision of the Jury selected by Ballajee Punt Nathoo on which so much reliance has been placed, notwithstanding I have publicly proclaimed that man guilty of bribery and corruption to the extent of 50,000 Rupees, as received from my Brother Vencut Row, I earnestly beseech of your Lordship to peruse the accompanying statement of the Proceedings which took place, under that man's own control and direction, in an assemblage of persons selected to decide upon my case.

My Lord, in this assembly, there was not any one man who otherwise recognized me than the real Govind Row Gorpude.

The result of that Jury, if so, it may be called, was in every respect favorable to my just claim but Sir John Malcolm on the next morning proclaimed me an Impostor by the report of Ballajee Punt Nathoo.

Your Lordship, being within reach of every means of ascertaining the real matters of fact regarding my case, will not, I hope, feel it repugnant to the exalted situation in which you are placed, to see justice done to an unfortunate man, and upon an enquiry into the merits, remove the indelible stain from my character, which a venal, corrupt and intriguing wretch has basely attached to it.

With profound respect,

I am

My Lord,

Your Lordships,

Most Obedient and Humble Servant.

गोविंदराव राज मुधोळकर हल्लो मुंबई

Bombay, 11th July 1837.

(Signature in Modi)

Govind Row Gorpoodee,

[The pretender encloses (pp. 91-100) with the above letter *his version* of the Enquiry conducted by the 'Panchayat' the substance of which has been already given, *vide* Governor's Minute (No. 25) and the statement given by Chintaman Rao Patwardhan (No. 26). To avoid repetition it is not reproduced here.]

(No. 35) The Pretender was informed that the decision already given by the Jury was final. (Bombay Government Letter, dated 2nd August 1831).

(p. 101)

To

The Person Pretending to the Modhol Estate under the Name of Govind Row Gorpoodee.

In reply to your letter of the 11th Ultimo, with enclosure, reurging your claim to the Modhol Estate, I am directed by the Right Honourable the Governor in Council to refer you to the answer you received on the 8th of June, and to inform you that His Lordship in Council considers the decision of a jury of your countrymen, the most distinguished for rank and respectability in the Southern Mahratta Country, against your claim, as final.

Bombay Castle,
2nd August 1831.

(No. 36) The Pretender again requests the Governor to enquire in his case.

(pp. 102-103)

To

His Excellency The Right Honourable,
The Earl of Clare &ca., &ca., &ca., President & Governor.

My Lord,

Permit me humbly to solicit of your Lordship, a consideration to my case.

Your Lordship, being in the Deccan, will have the opportunity of enquiring from all the most opulent and the most respectable, whether I am not, what I have professed to be, and in your justice, raise a fallen man from degradation and exile.

It becomes the exalted situation in which you are placed to support the oppressed and to uphold the distinguished character of British Justice.

In as much as you do for me. I pray the Almighty to give you that peace and blessing which surpasseth all understanding.

With profound respect.

I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

Most humble and obedient Servant.

(गोविंदराव राजे घोरपडे मुधोलकर खुद)

(Signature in Modi)

Govind Row Gorpudee.

Bombay,

23rd August 1831.

(No. 37) The Pretender was referred to the previous answers. (Bombay Government Letter, dated 27th September 1831).

(p. 108)

(No. 38) 'Govind Row Gorepara' in his petition of the 28th October 1831, once again prayed for the settlement of his case. It was "Ordered that the petition be returned with an endorsement stating that his case has been brought to a conclusion long ago". (Bombay Government consultation, No. 2959, dated 9th November 1831).

(p. 109)

(No. 39) The Pretender requests the Governor to send him a copy of the proceedings of the Jury, which decided him as an impostor.

(pp. 110-112)

To

His Excellency,
The Right Honourable,
The Earl of Clare, &ca., &ca., &ca.,

My Lord,

In reply to my last respectful address to your Excellency, my *Carcoon* and my *Hulcarrah* attended upon Mr. Money¹ (myself being too unwell by a long protracted illness) and which Gentleman directed them to acquaint me that your Lordship had no objection to see as any other private individual but not as Govind Row Gorpudee, Chief of Moodhol.

Permit me, my Lord, to bring to your notice that I merely had in view the expectation of receiving at your Lordship's grace and favour an acknowledgement of my identity.

To the British Government, which has reduced me to my present fallen condition, I look for redress of my grievances. In all Courts of Justice an injured individual is entitled to be heard in his defence, and a new trial has never been refused.

What availeth the British Government to see me thus drawing out a lingering existence? Can it be fitting its honour and dignity to deprive an unfortunate man of the means of maintaining his rights? Of giving to him a fair and just opportunity of exposing the vile conspiracy that has engendered such unheard of misfortune upon him?

My Lord, for the sake of suffering humanity relieve me from the wretched condition which your Predecessor has so cruelly and wantonly placed me, or in common justice, let me be furnished with a true and faithful copy of those diabolical proceedings which has indelibly fixed upon me the stain of being an Impostor. Be assured, my Lord, the Record of that wicked and inhuman deed is Registered in Heaven, where all human actions there, before an all seeing Judge, are accounted of, as they may deserve.

I am with profound respect,
May it please your Lordship's.
Most Obedient Humble Servant.

गोविंदराव राजे घोरपडे मुघोलकर

(Signature in Modi)
Govind Row Gorpudee.

Bombay,

23rd November 1831.

(No. 40) Government, in spite of sending the copies of the proceedings, informs the pretender of the points on which he was decided as the impostor and emphasises that no attention will be made to the further communications from him.

(pp. 113-115)

¹ Robert Cotton Money, then Acting Persian Secretary to Government.

To .

The Person Pretending to the Modhole Estate under the name of
Govind Row Gorepada.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 8th inst. and to inform you that though Government does not deem it expedient or necessary to communicate to you copies of the proceedings which established the fact of your being an impostor yet it has no objection to let you know that you were on that occasion pronounced by an assemblage of the first Sirdars of the Deccan—

First—To be unacquainted with the Canarese language with which Govind Row Gorepada was familiar.

Second—To write a hand altogether unlike the handwriting of Govind Row Gorepada.

Third—To be ignorant of striking events which Govind Row Gorepada well knew and could not have forgotten.

In conclusion I am directed on the occasion to intimate to you that Government will in future pay no attention and give no answer to any communication made by any one styling himself Govind Row Gorepada, Chief of Moodhole as it is persuaded that that person is not in existence.

Bombay,

7th November 1881.

(No. 41) H. H. Sayajirao Gaikwad of Baroda forwards a petition from Lakshman Rao (Govind Rao's brother), requesting for an investigation in his brother's case. Lakshman Rao says in his petition that having brought forward the fact of his claim on Mudhol estate by Vyankat Rao Ghorpade, he was unable to procure redress.

(pp. 116-120)

Memorandum from Lukshmun Rao Rajey Ghorepore of Moodhol, residing at Baroda, dated 21 Zilkaad or 4th April 1832.

The *Sumsthan* of Modhol Punch Mahal in the Carnatic has been held by us from time immemorial. My father the late Narayen Rao Rajey left three sons, the eldest of whom Govind Rao Rajey, the successor to the *Gadee* and myself resided at Poona. In the time of the war, when Bajee Rao Saheb left Poona he took both with him, and in the battle at Ashti, Govind Rao received a wound that caused him to fall from his horse. It could not be discovered afterwards what had become of him. I accompanied him as far as Ashti and when I left that place I went to Nuggur Dewalee. After staying there some time I came to Baroda where I held my old situation under His Highness Government, which I still continue to hold. In the mean time Govind Rao Rajey came to Chichoollee, which Mr. Elphinstone sent for him to Poona, and I also myself proceeded there and had an interview with him. He was recognized by myself and all the members of the family, and it was his intention after seeing Mr. Elphinstone to have obtained permission to depart to Modhol. In the meantime Mr. Elphinstone was succeeded by Sir John Malcolm, and my half brother Venkut Rao Rajey be-

desirous of usurping the possession of the Samsthan made false representations to Sir John Malcolm, in consequence of which our statements were disregarded and we are treated with injustice. This of course you are acquainted with.

Having heard of your reputation, and your practice of listening to their grievances and rendering justice to all, Govind Rao Rajey is now in Bombay in the hope of removing the false impressions raised by the statements of Venkutrao Rajey and of obtaining possession of his own Sumsthan. Venkutrao Rajey now holds possessions of Modhol Punch Mahal in the Carnatic, we hope therefore that you will after due investigation be pleased to give us our share of the inheritance in the Sumsthan.

(No. 42) H. H. Gaikwad is informed of the Government's decision declaring the so called 'Govindrao' to be an Impostor.

(pp. 125-126)

Copy of a letter from the Acting Persian Secretary to Government to his Highness Syajee Rao Guicawar dated 28th April 1832.

A.C.

I am directed by the Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council to inform your Highness in answer to a memorandum from your Highness accompanied by memorandum from Lukshman Row Rajey Goreporey of Modhol, dated the 4th Instant that the person calling himself Govind Row Goreporey, was pronounced by an assemblage of the first Sirdars in the Deccan to be an impostor and among other reasons, they said he was one, because he knew nothing of the Canarese language which Govind Row Goreporey perfectly understood, because he wrote a hand entirely different from the hand-writing of Govind Rao Goreporey, and because he was quite ignorant of all the striking events which Govind Rao Goreporey well knew and could not have forgotten. The Right Hon'ble the Governor is well aware of the kindness of your motives in forwarding the memorandum in question, and is sure that your Highness will easily see from what have stated that the man calling himself Govind Rao Goreporey is no other than an impostor.

(No. 43) Jankibai, wife of Govind Rao Ghorpade, who joined the impostor represents to Government to re-investigate in her "husband's" case.

(pp. 129-131)

Substance of a Petition from Jankeebae wife of Govind Rao Raja Ghorpurey, Modholekur, inhabitant of Manguree (Manjari), Prant Carnatic, to the Right Hon'ble the Governor, dated 25th and received 27th October 1832.

My husband Govind Rao Raja is no impostor, of which our relations are all satisfied, but Government has not done us justice. I presented a memorandum and detailed statement dated 7th August last to your Lordship at Dapoor¹ on the 10th September last, to which I received an answer stating that the matter had been settled before. I now therefore beg to make a further representation on the subject and that answers may be given me on all the following points.

¹ *Dapuri* :—a village in Haveli taluka of Poona District, six miles north of Poona City. It contained several old bungalows and gardens, of which the earliest was built about 1820 by Captain Ford, C. B. This house was purchased by Shri John Malcolm for Government in 1828, and it was used as the Governor's residence until 1865, when the new Government House at Ganeshkhind was completed. *GBP*, xviii, pt. iii, p. 127.

1. I recognized and swore to the identity of my husband as the true Govind Rac Raja and gave my written oath to Government. If required, thousands of Sirdars are ready to testify on this subject. I represented this before but owing to the miser presentation of some persons, it is not attended to.

2. I am told that the matter has been settled and I have therefore no remedy, but I have to request to be informed, where the decision was made, and if by a *Punchayet* of my relations and other Sirdars that a copy of the decision may be sent to me.

3. According the IV Regulation of 1827, justice is administered to all great and small. But my husband's proofs have been altogether neglected. I am therefore without resource.

4. By the substantiation of my husband's claims Government will sustain no loss. His *Enam* is continued by Government but Vyenkut Rao Rajey wishing to keep the whole, refused to see him, and by means of his accomplices inspired Government with the notion of my husband being an impostor.

5. I request that the Raja of Kolapore or the Guikwar may be directed to conduct the enquiry.

6. If your Lordship persists in refusing my husband justice I have still the resource of suicide. If I destroy myself the sin will rest on your head.

7. I request that an enquiry may be made by a *Punchayet* of Sirdars of our equals, at Poona.

(No. 44) The Persian Secretary was directed to inform Jankibai, "that no further reply than what she had already received can be given, the whole question relating to the case of the Impostor having long since been disposed of". (Bombay Government letter, dated 30th November 1832).

(p. 132)

(No. 45) The Court of Directors in London points out to the Bombay Government some defects in the proceedings of the pretender's enquiry, and the possibility of the impression that the claimant has not had a fair opportunity afforded him to make out his claim.

(pp. 133—37)

To

Our Governor in Council at Bombay.

Para 1. We now reply to your Political letter dated 8th August (No. 17) 1831 relating to the case of an individual who appeared in the Deccan early in 1826, and who styled himself Govind Row Gorepuda the eldest son of the late Raja Narayan Row of Moodhole in the Southern Mahratta Country.

2nd. The real Govind Row has always been believed to have perished at the Battle of Ashtee, and the estate had been confirmed to his half brother Venkut Row in whose possession it already was, and who had been recognized by the Peshwa during Govind Row's life.

3rd. The present claimant has persevered for several years in preferring his claims, but either had not attempted or had been unsuccessful in his attempts to have regularly investigated. His pretensions, however, met with so favorable

a reception in the Southern Mahratta Country that your late President early in 1829 was induced to assemble a *Punchayet* at Belgaon consisting of the principal Sirdars in the neighbourhood, who inquired into the case and pronounced the claimant an impostor. He was in consequence banished by proclamation from the Deccan.

4th. In a case where it was of importance not only that your decision should be right but that it should be thought to be so, we know not that you could have adopted any better mode of adjudication than by referring the matter to an assembly of the neighbouring Chiefs and when they had pronounced you naturally acted upon their decision. We have little doubt moreover of its substantial justice. We observe however, with regret one or two circumstances owing to which the proceedings before the *Punchayet* will scarcely we fear, set the question at rest in the minds of those who were previously inclined to believe the story of the self styled Govind Row.

5th. The *Punchayat* seems to have decided exclusively upon a personal interrogation of the claimant, and upon a perusal of evidence previously taken by Mr. Elliott which is not forwarded to us, and of the nature of which we are not sufficiently informed. The claimant on his examination gave evasive or erroneous answers respecting facts which Govind Row must have known and was unable to converse fluently in Canarese, the native language of the person whose character he assumed.

6th. These are certainly strong and nearly conclusive indications of imposture. On the other hand, none of the assembled Chiefs professed to have been personally acquainted with Govind Row, and not one individual was produced before the *Punchayet*, no (so far as we observe) on any other occasion, who having known Govind Row, affirms that this is not he, though there can have been little difficulty in finding persons capable of identifying the person of a man of such high rank who had been alive so few years before; while on the other hand many persons who knew Govind Row profess themselves fully convinced of the claimants identity with him among others his brother Luximon Row and his wife.

7th. The claimant has since produced a list of immense length of persons who as he affirms, are ready to vouch for his identity, some of these persons ought to have been questioned.

8th. He also professes that he has in his possession all the ancient grants made to his family by the Kings of Beejapoor and the Emperors of Delhi; and that he is ready to produce them. He should have been called upon to do so.

9th. Under all these circumstances we are not surprised at the appearance in a Bombay Newspaper of the articles to which you draw our attention advocating this individuals claims, and complaining of the treatment he has met with the tone of the article certainly is not unobjectionable, but we should not approve of its receiving any official notice.

10th. We think it necessary to put you in possession of our opinion concerning the manner in which the enquiry was conducted, referring it to your consideration *whether any and what* steps it may be expedient to take, with

a view of correcting the empression which is not unlikely to prevail at least partially that the claimant has not had a fair opportunity afforded him of making out his case.

11th. We must confess that it would be more satisfactory if the mission to which we have adverted could even now be supplied.

London,

We are &ca.

15th August 1832.

(Signed) John G. Rewenshaw,

(No. 46) Bombay Government resolves not to open the case by calling upon the pretender.

(pp. 138-140)

*Resolution on the Court's letter, dated the 1st August 1832,
(Dated 30th January 1833.)*

6 and 7. The Acting Political Agent of the Southern Marhatta Country might be instructed to ascertain whether any and if so which members of the Punchayet were personally acquainted with Govind Row, but he should do this in such way as not to give cause for belief that any further enquiry is intended to take place.

8. It does not seem advisable to make any call upon the self styled Govind Row. It was also clear that the mere production of the most authentic document can be of little use in his case.

(No. 47) The Political Agent at Dharwar was directed by the Government to "ascertain whether any, and if so, which members of the Punchayet were personally acquainted with Govind Row", and that this enquiry be made "in such a way as not to give cause for belief that any further investigation of the case is intended to take place". (Bombay Government Letter, dated 29th January 1833).

(pp. 141-142)

(No. 48) The Political Agent informs of his enquiry made with Chintaman Rao Patwardhan of Sangli, who says that Sidhoji Rao Nimbalkar of Nipani and Balasaheb Raste were well acquainted with Govind Rao and not himself.

(pp. 143-144)

To

Charles Norris Esquire,

Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay,

I do myself the honor to reply to your letter of the 29th Ultimo transmitting Extract paras 6 and 7 of a letter from the Honorable the Court of Directors regarding the case of the Individual styling himself Govind Rao Gorepuda of Moodhole, and directing me to ascertain whether any, and if so, which Member of the *Punchayet* were personally acquainted with Govind Rao.

Soon after receiving these instructions Chintamon Rao Putwardhan one of the members of the *Punchayet* visited me. I took advantage of the occurrence to speak to him as to his knowledge of Govind Rao, and the circumstance attending the enquiry. He said that he had not been himself personally acquainted with Govind Rao but that Siddoojee Rao Nimbalkar the Neepaneekur

was well acquainted with him, and also Bala Sahib Rastia and that on the enquiry the Neepaneekar put the individual pretending to be Govind Rao, certain questions relating to events, that had he been the real Govind Rao, he must have known, but of which, he the pretending individual shewed himself quite ignorant.

I have not deemed it required to make further enquiry than this, but if it is deemed called for, I can address each member of the *Punchayet*, to state whether he had personal acquaintance with the real Govind Rao or not.

Dharwar,

11th February, 1833.

(No. 49) The Political Agent at Dharwar was directed that "each member of the *Punchayet* should be addressed separately to know whether he was personally acquainted with Govind Rao of Moodhole" (Bombay Government Letter dated 18th February 1833).

(pp. 144-145)

(No. 50) The Political Agent forwarded to the Bombay Government the replies received by him from the various members of the *Punchayet* in connection with their personal acquaintance with the real Govind Rao Ghorpade (Political Agent's letters to Bombay Government dated 10th May and 30th May 1833). Of these, Ambaji Rao Ghatge, Madhavrao Gangadhar and Parashuram Bhau Patwardhan, denied having personally known to Govind Rao. Sidhoji Rao Naik-Nimbalkar, Balaji Pant Natu, Maloji Rao Ghorpade, Gopal Rao Patwardhan and Balwant Rao Raste wrote that they were personally acquainted with the real Govind Rao. Chintaman Rao Patwardhan cleared the charges of bribery against Balaji Pant Natu. The extracts from these replies are given below.

(1) *Maloji Rao Ghorpade* :

(p. 147)

".....I have to state that in the year *Situshin* [*Seet Ashar*] corresponding with the *Fuslee* 1225 (A. D. 1815-16), before the battle between the Company and the Peishwah I saw Govind Rao Ghorepurree Moodholekur, two or three times, at Poona. He was then about 18 or 20 years of age. Afterwards, I saw him in the Governor's Court at Belgaon, at which time he appeared to be about 30 or 35 years old. He referred to our former acquaintance."

(2) *Ambaji Rao Ghatge, Jhunjar Rao* :

(p. 148)

".....I was not acquainted with Govind Row Moodholekur, it was decided at the *Punchayet* at Belgaon that the person calling himself so, was not Govind Row Ghorepurree."

(3) *Balwant Rao Raste* :

(p. 149)

".....I was not present at the battle of Ashtee, where Govind Rao Ghoreporree Moodholekur was killed. I was with the Peishwah at the time. I was acquainted with Govind Rao, the Moodholekur."

(4) *Balaji Rao Narayan Natu* :

(p. 150)

".....I have to inform you that at the time the *Punchayet* took place at Belgaon, I was directed to collect the Sirdars who constituted the *Punchayet*.

I had seen Govind Rao Rajah the Moodholekur when he was at Poona. I also saw him on another occasion at a very respectable man's house when the Peishwah was at Poona."

(5) *Chintaman Rao Patwardhan of Sangli :* (pp. 151-152,

".....I have to state that I may have seen Govind Rao Ghorepurree but I was not well acquainted with him.

At the time the Governor Sir John Malcolm came to Belgaon I was told to make investigation concerning the person calling himself Govind Rao and I with Gopalrao Jumkhundeekur, Purseram Punt Bhow Tasgaonkur, Bulwunt Rao Rastia, Siddojee Rao Nimbalkur Sir Lushkur, Madojee Rao Ghorepurree and others, assembled in the Governor's Tent. The Sir Lushkur being related to Ghorepurree asked the person calling himself Govind Rao questions to discover the truth, and the others also asked him such questions as they considered suitable to the same purpose. None recognized him and his answers were not clear. A memorandum of the proceedings was written at the time of which I send a copy which will elucidate the case.

My Vakeel at Poona has written to me that Govind Rao has made complaint that Ballajee Punt Nathoo was bribed by Vencut Rao Rajah Moodholekur to proclaim him false, and for this reason Ballajee Punt Nathoo has been summoned to Bombay, concerning this, I have to state, that at the time the Governor's Camp was at Belgaon Ballajee Punt Nathoo by his desire collected all the persons who formed the *Punchayet* in the Governor's Tent, but he did not join in the investigation that took place. All the persons who were engaged in that investigation are mentioned above."

(6) *Gopal Rao Jamkhandikar :* (p. 153)

".....I have to state that Govind Rao Ghorepurree Moodholekur was frequently at Poona, and I saw him occasionally when I went to visit the Peishwah. I had no further acquaintance with him."

(7) *Madhav Rao Gangadhar :* (p. 154)

"...I was not on the *Punchayet* at Belgaon, above alluded to, and I was not acquainted with Govind Rao Moodholekur."

(8) *Sidhoji Rao Naik-Nimbalkar, Sar Lashkur, of Nipani :* (p. 155)

".....I was acquainted with Govind Rao Ghorepurree Moodholekur who was killed at the battle of Ashtee."

(9) *Daulat Rao Ghorpade :* (pp. 156-157)

".....At the time [of the Battle of Ashtee] I was about 9 or 10 years of age. Govind Rao Moodholekur frequently came to see my father, on which occasion, I remember seeing him. I had not seen him but at the time the Governor Mr. Elphinstone came to Poonah, a person calling himself Govind Rao Ghorepurree came to him. The Governor directed me to make a strict enquiry into his case. The brother, wife, uncle and other relations of Govind Rao, the Deshmook of Saswad, Mallojee Rao Ghorepurree, the dealers of Mallojee Rao's Pett, those who attended on Govind Rao in his childhood. *Settees*, *Sowkars*, and other persons were sent for to give evidence on the subject, and they all declared that he was Govind Rao Ghorepurree Moodholekur. The Rajah of Kolapoor also introduced him as such in his tent, to the Governor, and the

Rajah's people spoke to the same effect. I represented all the above circumstances to Mr. Elphinstone. When the Governor Sir John Malcolm was encamped at Belgaon he ordered a *Punchayet* to enquire into the case of Govind Rao Ghorepurree and I represented to him what had taken place in Sir Elphinstone's time."

(10) *Parashuram Bhau Patwardhan* :

(p. 161)

".....I was at that time [*i.e.* Battle of Ashtee] at Meritch and am not acquainted with him."

(No. 51) The copies of the above statements were forwarded to the Hon'ble Court of Directors, London (Political Consultation, No. 1895 : 19th June 1833).

(p. 162)

(No. 52) A vakeel of Jankibai represents to Government to have an early settlement of Govind Rao's case.

(pp. 163-164)

To

The Right Hon'ble John Earl of Clare,
President and Governor in Council,

The Humble Petition of Rowjee Eshwant
Nisbut Jankee Bae Com Govind Rao
Rajah Gorpurrah.

Representation,

The Petitioner begs leave to inform Your Lordship, that he being a nominated and authorized Wakeel of the above mentioned Bae, and since he has brought Rajah's case lately to Your Lordship's Notice, he resides in Poona, he requests he may be apprized with Answer to the Petitions forwarded to Your Lordship in Council in the Rajah's case.

Yours Lordship's petitioner,

As in Duty Bound shall ever pray
Rowjee Eshwant *Nisbut*

Jankee Com Govind Rajah Gorpurrah.

Poona,

4th September 1833.

(No. 53) In reply to the above petition Rowji Yeshwant was informed "that no further reply than what she has already received can be given, the whole question relating to the case of the Impostor having long since been disposed of." (Bombay Government Letter dated 12th September 1833).

(p. 165)

(No. 54) "Jankeebae wife of Govind Rao Rajah Ghoreporreh in her Memorandum of the 27th September (1833) requested to be furnished with copy of the Panchayet's decision in her husband's case." It was "ordered that the Memorandum be returned to her, referring her to former answer of 12th September" (Consultation No. 2961, dated 21st October 1833).

(p. 166).

THE LEGEND OF NANA SAHEB

tion

mystery of the death of Nana Dhondu Pant of Bithoor or generally known as Nana Saheb, made him a legendary figure. In spite of the tactful answer of these prime minister Jang Bahadur regarding the death of Nana Saheb, the British Government had strong suspicions about his flight and that he might probably be hiding himself somewhere in India in the guise of a *Gosavi* or a mendicant. Hence followed all the possible endeavours on the part of the Crown Government to capture him. All the Government and local authorities and also the general public were informed about the Government's quest for this legendary hero of 1857. A reward of Rupees for his capture was also declared.

At different times different persons were arrested on the suspicion of their having been associated with Nana Saheb and his activities. Elaborate enquiries and legal proceedings followed to establish their identity which proved fruitless in the end and they were consequently released.

Among the papers relating to the tale of Kashi *Gosavees* who were captured on the suspicion of their being the emissaries of Nana Saheb. After a prolonged investigation about them on the part of the Government, they were ultimately found not guilty and were released in the end.

In November 1862, Captain Becher of 8th Regt. N. I. stationed at Sholapur, came across the news of a suspicious party of *Fakeers* seen by him. He sent one Mr. Dwarka Tiwari to investigate them.

Mr. Dwarka Tiwari, finding that the *Fakeers* were really *Gosavees*, accordingly Jemadar changed his dress as a *Fakeer* and followed the suspicious party. He found that they were the rebels of Nana's force. Their headman was Dada Saheb. He was their Senapati and was Nana's right-hand man. After some time, the *Gosavees* heard the news of the imprisonment of their headman and they suddenly left Jemadar with a word to meet them at Mahadeo in Baroda. After their departure, the Jemadar reported this whole account to Mr. Nuttall, Superintendent of Police, Sholapur and gave names of the party of Nana Saheb. He also reported that these disguised *Gosavees* possessed arms and were on their way to Baroda.

Among all *Gosavees* captured in Pandharpur by Jemadar Dwarkadas Tiwari, the one named Madhavrao was the Nana's Senapati by name Bala Saheb, but generally known as Dada Saheb, closely connected with Nana Saheb. Another prisoner was Diwan to the Nagpur Rajah and was also disguised as a *Sadhu*.

The *Gosavees* captured at Pandharpur were then brought to Sholapur.

Mr. Hart, Police Commissioner, S. D., brought this matter to the notice of the Secretary, Bombay Government. According to his suggestion the Government sent their introductory information and photographs to N. W. P., Hyderabad, Madras, Indore, Baroda, Rewa Kantha etc. for investigation. But the photographs were not recognised at most of the places.

Meanwhile W. Hart reported the disappearance of Jemadar Dwarkadas

Some of the officers who were addressed as above had promptly replied to the Bombay Government.

The ex-Nawab of Banda found some likeness of the brother of Rao Sahab in one of the photographs.

Captain Thomas, Actg. Supdt. of Police, Belgaum, traced some resemblance in 3 photographs to certain persons seen by him in Belgaum and Sholapur.

Captain Nuttal sent a deposition from a Punjabi prisoner Kajan Chand who was imprisoned at Sholapur on account of his having taken part in the rebellion. Kajan Chand was discharged on the reduction of Hodson's horse and possessed a regular discharge certificate. In his deposition Kajan Chand mentioned that Raghunathdas bin Durgadas was really a Jorakan Singh—nephew of Tularam, who was a commander under Jhajjar Nawab and was the leader of horse who attacked the Kotah Residency. Jorakan Singh was present and took a prominent part in an attack on the Residency, when Major Burton (Kotah Poll. Agt.) and his family were murdered. At this time Kajan Chand was serving under Hodson's Horse.

Major General Lawrence of Rajputana was asked to test the truth of the allegations made by Kajan Chand regarding the prisoner Raghunathdas in connection with Kotah affairs.

The Police Commissioner, S. D. reported that the prisoners Raghunathdas and Bishwadass were guilty of rebellion and that they were consorting together in one band.

The Bombay Government instructed Sholapur Magistrate to detain all the prisoners as State Prisoners.

Major General Lawrence communicated Mr. Brynon's report describing the invalidity of Kajan Chand's statement charging the prisoner Raghunathdas as being the chief actor in the outbreak of Kotah affairs.

Consequently, the Government issued a warrant to keep Jorakan Singh *alias* Raghunathdas in close confinement at Sholapur until further communication. A photograph of the prisoner Raghunathdas was sent to Multan for investigation. However, a Rewari merchant recognized the portrait as that of Rao Tularam. The Superintendent at Multan acquainted his inability to recognize the portrait. The photographs of Raghunathdas were also sent to Rajputana for getting evidences identifying the prisoner calling himself Raghunathdas with the rebel Jorakan Singh.

The convict Kajan Chand made a statement before the Sholapur Magistrate that he and one Nyal Singh served under the Nizam at Sagar. While in Rissalah, the prisoner Raghunathdas was sent in their custody from Sagar to Agra. Raghunathdas escaped on the way. The real name of Raghunathdas was Jorakan Singh. Kajan Chand also mentioned that Nyal Singh, who was at that time a resident of Morar cantonment near Sagar, could identify this Raghunathdas as Jorakan Singh. In his statement Kajan Chand referred Rewari as the native place of the subject prisoner.

Immediately the Brigadier Commander at Morar was requested to detain Nyal Singh. Major R. F. Meade in Central India was also requested to ascertain intelligence about Nyal Singh.

Officiating Commissioner Goorgaon informed the Commissioner S. D. stating that different persons (well acquainted with Tularam) could not be able to recognize these photographs of Jorakan Singh or Raghunathdas.

Now a report was received in Rewari about the death of Tularam. His mother addressed a petition stating that she received the news from Kabul.

In reply to the reference made in Central India for the whereabouts of Nyal Singh, the Gwalior Political Agent communicated his regrets to obtain any intelligence about that individual.

The Police Superintendent, N. D. could not find any resemblance in the photographs to the persons implicated in the late rebellion or any other reasonable proceedings.

The Commissioner of Delhi Division failed in his enquiry made at Gurgaon to obtain any trace of Raghunathdas.

Considering all the proceedings on the case of the prisoner Raghunathdas, the Government found that further detention of that individual was inadvisable and issued the instructions to set him at liberty.

Accordingly the Sholapur Magistrate released the prisoner Raghunathdas bin Durgadas.

W. Hart requested the Government to set free the other prisoners also. The Government complied with his request and passed the necessary orders to release the remaining eight prisoners from the custody.

(No. 1) W. Hart informs about Capt. Nuttall's efforts in tracing out the men described by the Gosavees¹ as engaged in treasonable agitation and that Jamada Dwarka Tewaree was appointed to obtain information about Gosavees who were imprisoned by the Sholapur² Magistrate and also forwards the photographs of the Gosavees.

(P. D. Vol. 4, Compl. 27 of 1863, pp. 3-4
No. 24 of 1863.

From

The Commissioner of Police S. D.

To

The Chief Secretary to Govt. Dharwar Districts Camp, Nawalgaon
10th January 1863.

Secret Department.

Sir,

I have the honor to submit for the information of Government copies

| |
|--|
| No. 392 dated 7th November 1862 with accompaniments. No. 396 dated 10th idem. |
|--|

 letters with accompaniments as per margin received from Captain Nuttall Superintendent of Police Sholapur in November last. Captain Nuttall has since been taking measures for tracing out the men described by the Quasi [Kashi]⁴ Gosavees as engaged in treasonable agitation but has not yet reported any results.

2. My submission of these papers has been delayed pending my receipt of the photographs promised in the second letter from Captain Nuttall from whom I received them in Beejapoor⁵ at the end of last month and now beg to forward them with this letter.

3. Jemader Dwarka Teewarree is, with the permission of the proper authorities, employed in endeavouring to obtain further information about the emissaries

¹ *Gosavees* :—Gosain, Goswami. A (Hindu) devotee, literary, 'one who restrains his Passions'. *IGI Index Vol. XXV Glossary* p. xii. It is said that Nana Saheb sent many *Sadhus, faquirs* and Pilgrims, who contacted the people in *bazars, melas* and other public places, instigating them against the British Government. These persons also entered the Army cantonments in the guise of *moulvis & pandits* to prepare the sepoys for mutiny. Anand Swarup Sharma. *Nana Saheb Peshwa & the Fight for Freedom*, p. 196.

² *Sholapur* :—Head-quarters of Sholapur District in the Maharashtra State situated in 17° 40' N & 75° 54' E.

³ *Navalgund Town* :—Head-quarters of the taluka of the same name in Dharwar District, Mysore State, situated in 15° 33' N & 75° 21' E, 24 miles north east of Dharwar town in Mysore State.

⁴ *Kashi* :—Kasi or Banaras or Varanasi are the names of the same place. Head-quarters of Banaras District, U. P., with cantonment, situated in 25° 18' N. & 83° 1' E, on the left bank of Ganges. It is the holiest place to the Hindus.

⁵ *Bijapur* :—The head-quarters of Bijapur District of Mysore State, situated in 16° N. & 75° 43' E.

(5)

mentioned by the *Gosavees*, and in the meanwhile the latter have been committed to prison by the Acting Magistrate of Sholapur in conformity with sections 295 and 301 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, and I think there is sufficient reason for Government to order their detention on Political grounds, should the period of their present imprisonment expire before the inquiries above referred to shall have been completed.

4. Government will observe that in Captain Nuttall's first letter the number of persons arrested is reported as eleven. It turns out however that these were only six, and you will find in the accompanying packet eight photographs of each of these, except the leading man among them (called Tambeykar) of whom there are but seven, Government may probably desire to distribute the portraits in various quarters for the purpose of identifying the *Gosavees* if possible.

(Signed) W. Hart,

Commissioner of Police,
S.D.

(No. 2) Capt. Nuttall communicates to W. Hart the capture of 11 Gosavees at Pandharapur¹ and identification of the prisoners Madhavrao as Nana's Senapati and Ganpatrao as Dewan to the Nagpur Rajah.

(pp. 5-9)

No. 392 of 1862

From

Captain T. Nuttall,
Superintendent of Police, Sholapur.

To

W. Hart Esquire,
Commissioner of Police. S.D.
Poonah.

Camp Mallapoor, November 1st 1862.

Secret Department.

Sir,

I have the honour to report that Jemadar Dwarka Tewarree of H. M. 8th Regiment N. I. stationed here, has been by the means of my Police tracing out and capturing in Punderpor Eleven *Gosavees* who by the Jemadar's statement which is appended and marked B are emissaries of the Nana Sahib's.

2. The circumstances which led me to send my Police in pursuit of these men are shown in Statements A* and B† appended.

¹ *Pandharapur* :—The head-quarters of the taluka of the same name in Sholapur District of the Maharashtra State, situated in 17° 41' N. & 75° 26' E. on the right or south bank of the Bhima river.

*Statement of Captain Becher H. M. 8th Regt. N. I. (*vide* No. 3).

†Statement of Jemadar Dwarka Tewarree H. M. 8th Regt. N. I. (*vide* No. 4).

3. I received this information about 10 O'clock on Saturday night. I did not wait to hear all the particulars of the conversation which had taken place between the parties, but on getting a description of these men, I rode down at once to the Town where my men are quartered, and despatched Five (5) different parties in pursuit. Two parties I sent along the roads leading to Punderpoor; the others I sent along the Poonah, Barsee¹ and Tooljapoor² roads. The *Gossavees* had not informed the Jemadar by what road they were going.

4. I received yesterday morning a report from one of the parties I despatched towards Punderpoor, stating that they had apprehended the eleven men in Punderpoor but that they have been detained there by the Assistant Superintendent of Police, to whom I at once wrote, requesting him to forward the Prisoners by my men.

5. It appears from what my men report, that the *Gossavees* left Sholapur in a great hurry, (as reported by Jemadar Dwarka Tewaree), but they had only gone clear away from the Town, and had halted and cooked in a Garden about a mile cut on the Punderpoor road, and had in the morning early recommenced their journey, consequently they (the Police) had headed them, and reached Punderpoor first.

6. By the Statement of the Jemadar, it appears that the Prisoner (Madhawrow) whom I captured the other day was the Nana's *Synaputtie* [*Senapati*] and his proper name is "Bala Sahib",³ but more generally known by the name of "Dada Sahib". He is closely connected to the Nana Sahib from what these men said.

7. The man Gunputrow to whom they alluded as being secreted in Baroda,⁴ the Jemadar says, is the person who was Dewan to the Nagpoor Rajah. He is disguised as a "*sadoo*"⁵ [*Sadhu*].

8. He does not know who the Sirdar is at Cambay⁶ to whom they alluded.

9. The Mahadeo Temple⁷ at Baroda where they told him to meet them, is situate in the city near the Bridge, on the high road leading from the Camp to the Town.

10. He also mentions the names of three other men, agents of the Nana, Jorakun, "Radee", and "Kulay Khan", the first mentioned is in the city of

¹ *Barsi*:—Head-quarters of the taluka of the same name in Sholapur District, Maharashtra State, situated in 18° 14' N. & 75° 41' E.

² *Tuljapur*:—Head-quarters of the taluka of the same name in Osmanabad District, Maharashtra State, situated in 18° 1' N. & 76° 5' E. In a ravine at foot of the hill is the temple of Tulja Bhavani, *Kul Devi* of Chhatrapati Shivaji.

³ *Bala Saheb or Bala Rao*:—Brother of Nana Saheb, who fought at the battle of Pandu Nandi and was wounded.

⁴ *Baroda*:—Formerly capital of the Baroda State and now in the Gujarat State in 22° 18' N. & 73° 15' E. on the Vishwamitri river.

⁵ *Sadoo or Sadhu*:—A person leading a pious or religious life, a mendicant, an ascetic.

⁶ *Cambay*:—(Khambayat or Khambhat) is a port situated in 22° 18' N. & 72° 40' E., at the head of the Gulf of Cambay, on the north of the estuary of the river Mahi, near Ahamadabad in Gujarat State.

⁷ *Mahadeo Temple*:—It is situated close to the stone bridge which crosses the Vishwamitri river in Baroda city of Gujarat State.

Hyderabad, the second "Radee" has gone to raise levies in Rewah, and the third man Kalay Khan is living at Dakore¹, in the Kaira *Zillah*, under the orders of "Gunputrow" the late Dewan of Nagpoor.

11. I know the Town of Dakore well. There is a famous Hindoo Temple in the Town, to which at different Periods of the year numbers of Hindoos resort from every quarter, and here assignations are made, and plots hatched.

12. I would here beg to report, that both Major Collier and Captain Becher inform me, that Jemadar Dwarka Tewarree is a most trustworthy man, and during the late mutinies in Guzerat, did most excellent service to the State on obtaining information of the movements of Rebels and Insurgents.

13. Extract copied on back of Appendix B from printed list of the persons who have taken a leading part in the Rebellion is appended in which the names of the Bala Sahib and Gunputrow appear.

14. After the examination of the *Gossavees*, I shall communicate further particulars.

(Signed) T. Nuttall Capt.
Superintendent of Police.

(No. 3) Capt. Becher states that the suspicious Fakeers on their way to Baroda were examined by his Deputy Jemadar Dwarka Tewaree who found with them some letters from Nana Saheb.

(pp. 9-11).

A

Statement of Captain Becher H. M. 8th Regiment N. I.

On Saturday evening last the 1st November 1862, about 6 p.m. I was returning home from the direction of the *Bazar*, when I observed a party of 7 people dressed as *Fakeers* proceeding in the direction of the *Bazar* and about some 40 yards from me 3 of these led the way and I think 3 followed a man dressed in a light blue or green coat and a peculiar Head-dress worn some times by these sort of people. From their bearing and gait I suspected the party and watched to see if they entered the Regimental lines, intending has they done so to search them, they went straight into the *Sudder Bazar*.

I then sent for Jemadar Dwarka Tewaree of my company, in whom I had great Confidence as he had during the mutinies while the Regiment was at Baroda done good service, and brought important information into camp from the Rebels having been sent out as a spy—I told him of the parties I had seen, and that I suspected from their appearance they were up to no good and fancied they were suspicious characters to go and find out who they were but to be careful not to let them suspect his intentions. Between 8 and 9 p.m. the same evening he returned and said he had learnt from them that they had letters from the "Nanah" about them and were on their way to Baroda that while they were talking one of their party who came from the *Bazar* (I think) in a hurried manner informed them that the "Dada Sahib" had been made prisoner and that they must run off at once which they immediately commenced to do telling the Jemadar to join

¹ *Dakor* :—A place of pilgrimage for Hindus, in the Thasra *taluka* of Kaira District of old Bombay & now in the modern State of Gujarat situated in 22° 45' N. & 73° 11' E.

them at Baroda. I immediately went with the Jemadar to Major Collier, commanding my Regiment who listened to the Native Officer's Statement and sent him with a Note to Captain Nuttall, Superintendent of Police, Sholapur, 7th November 1862.

(Signed) A. Becher Capt.
H. M. 8th Regt. N. I.

Given before me on the 7th day of November 1862.

(Signed) T. Nuttall Capt.
Superintendent of Police.

(No. 4) Jemadar Dwarka Tewaree hears from Gosavees that their headman was Bala Saheb, who was made prisoner in Sholapur and that they promised to meet the Jemadar at Mahalee Temple in Baroda. Jemadar also mentions the names of the Agents of Nana Saheb.

(pp. 11-15)

B

Jemadar Dwarka Tewarree Light Company H. M. 8th Regiment N. I. states as follows :—

My country is Hindoostan *Purgunnah* Lucknow. A few evenings ago about sunset I was sent for by Captain Becher the Captain of my Company who directed me to disguise myself and follow up some eight men dressed as *Gossavies* who had just come into camp and had passed near the Lines of the Regiment, to mix with them, and ascertain who they were—I at once changed my Dress, and as it got dark, I followed up—I came upon them 10 in number about 7 O'clock on the edge of the Tank near the city of Malapoor. They asked me who I was, when I replied "a Sepoy of Tantia Topie's, I have been wandering about ever since our dispersion, and I want service". They said "come here and tell us true"—I repeated what I had said and swore to them that I was what I repeated myself. They were satisfied and told me to sit down—one evidently the head man a stout large man said "I am Tambekur Brother to the Dewan (the *Burra Dewan*) of the late Peishwa "Bajee Row", very good, you remain with us I will give you food and he then gave me two annas. You must let me know all what is going here in the Regiment and Government offices, and I will send the intelligence to the Nana. They said that whilst at Hyderabad, Two of their party had gone to "Lingasoor"¹ for intelligence and that they had rejoined just as they were leaving Hyderabad to come up here. The Head Man of the "Nana" is down in this part of the country, his name is Bala Sahib Dada Sahib and he is the "*synaputtie*" [*Senapati*] of our Forces, and will give you lots of pay—We are now going to Baroda so come along with us. One of our officers is there, "Gunputrow" Dewan and I have got a letter for him from the Nana. The Rajah's Brother (meaning the Gaikwar's Brother) is with us. There is also another Sirdar at Cambay whom I have to meet. In Guzerat we have about 30 Emissaries. Just then one of their party came running up from the *Bazar* in the city where he had

¹ *Lingsugur*—Formerly a town in Raichur District of Hyderabad State, but now in the Mysore State, it is situated in 16° 7' N. and 76° 3' E. It was the head-quarters of Lingsugur District till 1905.

been evidently to get grain etc. and in a most excited and hurried manner told them to pack up and be off sharp, as the Bala Sahib, Dada Sahib their *Synaputtie* was a Prisoner in Sholapoor. I asked them who this was and they replied he was their head man down here, that he was the Nana Sahib's right hand man, that he had been the Nana's *Synaputtie* throughout the rebellion and that he was the Nana's "*Bhai*" [brother]. I tried to persuade them to remain at all events till they had eaten of some thing but they would not hear of and went off in a most hurried manner. Telling me to be sure and meet them at the Mahallee Temple in the city of Baroda.

I at once after they went ran to the lines and reported the circumstance to Captain Becher who took me over to Major Collier. The latter officer sent me down with a note to Captain Nuttall the Superintendent of Police.

In the course of conversation, I can remember the names of the following men besides those already mentioned, whom they said were Agents of the Nana's, these I remember well as I wrote them down as soon as I got to the lines, other names were mentioned but I cannot recollect.

1 Joorakun (a very high caste Hindoostan Brahmin). He is in the Town of Hyderabad.

2. Raday is in Rewah raising levies, and collecting information.

3. Kalay Khan disguised as a *Fakeer* is now at Dakore at the famous Hindoo temple there. This man is working under the late Dewan of Nagpoor "Gunputrow" who is secreted at Baroda in the disguise of a "*Sadoo*" [*Sadhu*] from what I could glean in the conversation the Bala Sahib (the Prisoner here) and the Nana were relations they called them "*Baies*" [*Bhais*—Brothers].

(Signed) in my presence this 7th day of November 1862.

(Signed) A. Becher Capt.
8th Regiment N. I.

Stated before me on the 7th day of November 1862.

(Signed) T. Nuttall Captain,
Superintendent of Police.

True Copies.

(Signed) W. Hart.
Commissioner of Police.

(No. 5) Extract from the list prepared from the record in the Home Department of the persons who had taken leading part in the rebellion.

(p. 16).

Extract from List of Persons who have taken a leading part in the present Rebellion. Prepared from papers on Record in the Home Department

| No. | Names | Designation | Parentage | Place | Remarks |
|-----|-------------|---|---------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|
| 144 | Bala Sahib | .. Unknown | .. Brother to Nana Sahib. | Cawnpore | |
| 159 | Gunput Rai | .. Late <i>Dewan</i> of the Nagpoor Raja. | Unknown | .. Chotta Nagpoor ¹ .. | The late <i>Dewan</i> of the Nagpoor Raja, Gunput Rai, had offered himself to the Mutineers at <i>Ranchhee</i> for the consulship. The <i>Thakoor</i> at time was reported to be still in power. <i>Oomrow Sing</i> and the others had promised the Mutineers to assist in resisting the British Government. |
| 274 | Kalay Khan* | .. Ressaldar of the 14th Irregular Cavalry. | Unknown | .. Jhansiee | If not the instigator he was one of the most active in the dreadful events of Jhansiee. |

* This man is reported to be living at Dakore Kaira Zilla, vide my letter No. 392 of 1862 to Commissioner of Police.

(Signed) T. N. C.

Copy

W. Hart,
Commissioner of Police,
S. D.

Copy

(Signed) T. Nuttall Captain,
Superintendent of Police.

¹*Chota Nagpur*—An old Division of Bengal lying between 21° 58' and 24° 49' N. and 83° 20' and 86° 54' E. The head-quarters of the Division is Ranchi, in Bihar State.

(No. 6) Capt. Nuttall, reports the arrival of the disguised Gosavees from Pandharpur who had letters in Nagari Script.

(pp. 17-18)

No. 396 of 1862.

From

Captain T. Nuttall,
Superintendent of Police,
Sholapoor.

To

W. Hart, Esquire,
Commissioner of Police, S. D.
Poonah.

Camp Sholapoor, November 10th 1862..

Secret Department.

Sir,

In continuation of my letter No. 392 to your address, I have the honour to report that the disguised *Gossavies* arrived here from Punderpoor, on Saturday at midday.

2. That these men are here for no good, and are in disguise there is no doubt. Their appearance and the excited manner in which some of them replied to my questions fully bears out Jemadar Dwarka Tewarree's statement viz., that they confessed to him, they were Agents of the Nana Sahib's.

3. They allow that they have come from Hyderabad, that they left Sholapoor in a great hurry merely, they said, because a *Fakeer* had told them "If they went to the city Tank for water, their *lotahs* would be seized".

4. One of them states he is from the village of Kuni near Dakore Kaira *Zillah*, one that he is an inhabitant of Urissa [Orissa], the remainder say they are from Hindoostan from near Benares.

5. On the man who called himself "Tambekur" two letters or papers in the "Nagari" character were found which I have been unable as yet to have translated.

6. Jemadar Dwarka Tewaree recognizes these men and points the man who called himself "Tambekur" and Brother to the Dewan of the late Peishwa Bajecrow, as well as the man who came running up from the city with the intelligence of the Bala Sahib's capture. The former prisoner from his bearing and language appears to be a Mahratta, the latter is a Hindoostan man.

7. Captain Hewett has kindly volunteered to take these men's photographs.

(Signed) T. Nuttall Capt.
Superintendent of Police.

Copy

(Signed) W. Hart.
Commissioner of Police, S. D.

(No. 7) According to the suggestion of Capt. Hart, Bombay Government despatched photographs of the suspected Gosavees to N. W. P. Hyderabad, Gwalior, C. India, Baroda and Rewa Kantha¹ to make due enquiry about their rebellious and treasonable proceedings.

(Vide the Letter Nos. 129, 130 and 131 on pp. 21-22)

(No. 8) The Hyderabad Resident and the Governor General's Agent for Central India returned the photographs to Bombay Government acquainting their inability to identify them. The substance of this was communicated to Capt. Hart by the Bombay Government.

(Vide the Letter Nos. 640, 163, 660, and 1982 on pp. 23-35)

(No. 9) W. Hart reports the Bombay Government that Capt. Nuttall will forward Kajan Chand's statement to the Hyderabad Resident for testing its truth about identity of Jorakan Sing with the prisoner Raghunathdas. Capt. Nuttall informed the imprisonment of Kajan Chand. W. Hart sends photographs of Raghunathdas and states that Jemadar Dwarka Tewaree has disappeared.

(pp. 37-38)

Poll. Cons. 1863 No. 4784.

(Captain Nuttall's letter No. 220, dated 2nd June 1863 and its accompaniment)

No. 655 of 1863,
Secret Department,
Poona, 15th June 1863.

Submitted for the orders of Government.

2. Captain Nuttall forwarded a copy of Kajan Chand's statement to the Resident at Hyderabad, in order that he may do what is necessary, not only with reference to the deponent's statement regarding Beni Mahadeo² and Chuttur Lal, but also is testing the truth of what is stated as to evidence regarding the identity of Jorakun Sing with the Prisoner Rugoonathdas being forthcoming in or near Hyderabad.

3. The Police Commissioner has been informed by Captain Nuttall that Kajan Chand is in possession of a regular discharge certificate, stating that he

¹ *Rewa Kantha*:—(The banks of the Rewa or Narbada). Formerly a political Agency subordinate to the Government of Bombay, established in 1821-26, having under its control 61 separate states, lying between 21° 23' and 23° 33' N. and 73° 3' and 74° 20' E. During the Mutiny of 1857 the place was disturbed by a rebel force from Northern India.

² *Rama Beni Madhav Singh (or Baksh)*:—One of the noblest heroes of 1857, spurned all offers of the British Government inviting him to surrender. He fought to the last and was eventually killed at the head of his troops in Nepal while fighting against the Gurkhas of Maharaja Jung Bahadur, the Prime Minister and Commander in chief of Nepal. He belonged to a high class Kshatriya family of Avadh. His son married the daughter of Babu Kunwar Singh of Bihar. During the Mutiny he kept a big army and sent aid to Lucknow. His fort at Shankarpur was famous for its strength. He was present in the actions at Lucknow. Misra, *op. cit.*, pp. 553-57.

was discharged on the reduction of Hodson's Horse.¹ He bears the marks of having been twice wounded in action, and states that he was reduced to his present condition from having been turned adrift without being able to find other employment, in search of which he had visited Hyderabad and Sholapoor. He is now under sentence of imprisonment for a year.

4. Rugoonathdass is one of the men whose arrest was reported to Government in the Police Commissioner's letter No. 24, dated 10th January 1863, and its accompaniments. Eight photographs of Rugoonathdass accompanied that letter, and the Commissioner now sends another, the only one remaining in his possession.

5. The Jemadar Dwarka Tewarree, whose evidence respecting Rugoonathdass and his companions, the Commissioner has from the first looked on with the greatest distrust, has disappeared, giving Captain Nuttall no information as to his whereabouts for the last three months.

(Signed) W. Hart,
Commissioner of Police, S. D.

(No. 10) Kajan Chand's deposition stating that the released man Raghunathdas bin Durgadas was Jorakan Sing, nephew of Tularam who was Commander under the Jhajjar² Nawab and that he was a leader of Horse in the attack on the Kotah³ Residency when Major Burton⁴ and family were murdered.

(pp. 39-43)

Deposition of Prisoner Kajun Chand, Caste Brahmin, country Punjab, formerly a *sowar* in Hodson's Horse.

The man who has just been released from jail with eight others, and who calls himself Raghoonathdas bin Durgoodas is Jorakun Sing, nephew of one Toolaram who was commander of three hundred Horse under the Judgeer Nawab about 50 miles from Delhi. This Nawab was hung. After Delhi was taken by the English, this man, Jorakun Sing with his uncle Toolaram and a number of Rebels

¹ *Hodson's Horse* :—Hodson was an excellent cavalry rider. He was hold off with a body of the Guide cavalry & two hundred of his newly recruited Horsemen (Hodson's Horse) to watch the rebel forces. Irregulars of Hodson's horse were full of Sikhs, Punjabis, Mohammedans, Afridis & other frontier tribes & also Hindustanians. Every soldier of it was a veteran. His first action was against a fortified village inhabited by a number of irregular sowars who had gone on furlough before the mutiny & had not returned to duty & hence were assumed as disloyal. A native officer of the first Irregular Cavalry came to greet Hodson & his party but was arrested. This frightened the other sowars & they shut themselves in a building from where they were smoked out & slain to a man. Hodson then went to Rohtak fort in which a body of an armed force were drawn up. Hodson tried a stratagem to draw the enemy in the open field under the pretext of a retreat. When the Rohtak men came out he turned about & charged. The result was a complete rout. He returned to Delhi with these two victories to his credit where he received high commendations. Surendra Nath Sen, *Eighteen Fifty-Seven*, pp. 99-100.

² *Jhajjar* :—In the British regime it was the Head-quarters of the *tahsil* of the same name in Rohtak District, Punjab, situated in 28° 36' N & 76° 40' E.

³ *Kotah* :—Capital of the former princely state of the same name in Rajputana (present Rajasthan), situated on the right bank of the Chumbal in 25° 11' N & 75° 51' E.

⁴ *Major Burton* :—Political Agent of Kota, who lost his life on the 15th October at the hands of the insurgents there. With him were killed two of his sons, one twenty-one & the other sixteen, years of age, Sen, *pp. cit.*, pp. 320-21.

went to Kotah and there found Nujroo Khan and the Rajah's Vakeel. He (Jorakun Sing) was present and took a prominent part in the attack on the Residency where Major Burton and family were murdered. At this time I was serving in Hodson's Horse, and when we arrived near Kotah the rebels were drawn up near the Chumbul river and about 2 miles from the Town, with the Rebels were a number of the Judgeer Nawab's Horse headed by Toolaram and Jorakun Sing. On their being attacked they retreated towards Chanderie¹. We followed up and in the action before Chanderie Jorakun Sing and some others were made prisoners. On their being escorted from Chanderie to Goonah² they effected their escape at night. The Rissaldar of the escort with some of the guard were for this imprisoned in Agra. The following men now in Kotah in the Raja's service will corroborate all this. Rissaldar Hurdar Sing, Duffadar Uthur Sing, Haree Sing Moonshee. These three men being considered friends to the British were seized by the Rebels when the Residency was attacked, and were released on their paying a ransom of Rupees 400. When in Hyderabad about eight months ago I was told by a Marwaree there that this Jorakun Sing had been seized by a *Sheik* [Sikh] called Nyrial Sing, who was formerly a *sowar* at Kotah, and is now living at Ahnul, close to Hyderabad. The Sheik had recognized him, and charged him with being one of the murderers of the Europeans at Kotah. This Jorakun Sing was then living with *Bayajee* who had charge of the Juggonath Temple in the Begum Bazaar and they gave Nyrial Sing Rs. 400 to let him go.

The *Bunniah* who gave me this information is Davee Chand, and lives in the Begum Bazaar, and he can give every proof of this—a red scarf (*Khashnreer*) belonging to Jorakun Sing, with his name in the corner, is in the possession of Nyrial Sing. When in Hyderabad also I had information that Chotturlal, the Agra Rebel, was living in a Temple with a Gossain called Purnulgeer in the Begum Bazaar. I one night myself saw Benne Mahadeo, one of the leading Rebels at Lucknow during the mutinies. He was living with other Rebel fugitives in a house belonging to Rajah Ram Bux³. He was disguised as a *Gossain*. Rajah Ram Bux is the nephew of the late Chundar Lall-Jorakun Sing's companions also told me a few days that Jorakun Sing had been recognized at Punderpoor by two *Gossains* there, and that on his paying them Rupees 100 they released him.

I am certain that this Jorakun is an emissary of the Nana's. I cannot say distinctly for the others.

I was wounded twice in action—once at "Chanderee" and the other time at "Ray Bareilly"⁴

¹ *Chanderi* :—Town with an old fort in the Narwar District of Ex-Gwalior State, C. I. & situated in 24° 43' N & 78° 9' E. 1300 feet above sea level.

² *Guna* :—Town and British military station in Isagarh district of Ex-Gwalior State (M. P.), situated in 24° 39' N & 77° 19' E. on the Agra-Bombay Road.

³ *Raja Ram Baksh Babu* :—A powerful Talukdar who attacked the Europeans and who escaped in two boats from Sattichaura Ghat, Kanpur. He wandered in disguise on restoration of order, but his barber, whom he had struck in rage, informed the British Government about his whereabouts. He was then arrested, tried and hanged. Misra, *op. cit.* p. 204.

⁴ *Ray Bareilly* :—Head-quarters of the District & Tahsil of the same name in the U. P., situated in 26° 14' N. & 81° 14' E. on the bank on the Sai.

I know Bennée Mahadeo well. I often used to see him before the mutinies when he used to come to Lucknow. I know the man I saw in Hyderabad with him. His place was about 40 miles from Lucknow.

I was for about thirteen years in Cooke's Regiment (infantry) in the Punjab. From it I was transferred to Hodgson's Horse about a year before the mutiny broke out. When the mutiny broke out I was for some time on duty at the Lall Takei before Delhi, from this I was one of a detachment of 150 men sent to 'Hessee' (Hansi)¹ from this we marched to Neemal (Nimar) where an action was fought in the Sarai.² We had with us then the Puttiala Raja's³ force. About this time Delhi fell. We then were sent to Agra. During this period an officer who belonged to the 14th Cavalry commanded us. His name was "Hukum Saheb". From Agra we went to Kotah, under this officer. The force consisted of the 6th Sikh Regiment which came from Sealkote, and a Cavalry Regiment from Dhera Gazeekhan with two guns manned by Sikhs and 150 of Hodgson's Horse, in which I was. From Kotah we followed the rebels up to "Chandoree" and from that to Ray Bareilly.

(Signed) T. Nuttall,
Superintendent of Police.

June 1st, 1863.

Copy--

(Signed) W. Hart,
Commissioner of Police, Senior Division.

(No. 11) The Bombay Government forwards Papers to Maj. Genl. Lawrence, the Governor General's Agent in Rajputana, with a request to test the truth of the allegations made by Kajan Chand, regarding the prisoner Raghunathdas in connection with Kotah.

(p. 47)

No. 1981 of 1863.

To

Major General Lawrence,
Governor General's Agent in Rajpootana.

Sir,

I am directed by His Ex. the Governor to forward to you in original a memorandum No. 655, dated 15th instant from the Police Commissioner Senior

¹ *Hansi* :—Then Head-quarters of the tahsil of the same name in Hissar District, Punjab, situated in 29° 7' N. & 75° 58' E. During the Mutiny of 1857 the troops mutinied and murdered many Europeans & joined the wild Rajput tribes in plundering the country. On the restoration of order the cantonment was given up.

² *Sarai Ghat* :—Palace of Peshwa at Bithoor was destroyed by the General Hope Grant while returning to Kanpur after the battle of Sarai Ghat. Anand Swarup Misra, *Nana Saheb Peshwa & The fight for freedom*, pp. 297-98. The battle is described on p. 310.

³ *Patiala Raja* :—Maharaja Narindar Singh was only twenty-three years old when he succeeded the throne of Patiala State. During the Mutiny he provided the British with supplies, carriages & a contingent of men. He thus offered all sorts of assistance to the British & remained loyal to them throughout the campaign. At the close of the war he was rewarded with certain estates resumed from the Raja of Nabha. He was the first Indian Chief to receive the K. C. S. I. & was also a member of the Indian Legislative Council during Lord Canning's viceroyalty. He died in 1882 at the age of thirty-nine. *IGI, Vol. XX*, pp. 37-38.

(16)

Division together with accompaniments and to request you will have the goodness to test the truth or otherwise of the allegations made by Kajun Chand respecting the prisoner Raghunathdas in connection with Kotah and that you will forward on the papers to Delhi for any inquiries you may consider should be there be also made regarding his identity with the rebel Jorakan Sing.

B.C

19th June, 1863.

(Signed) (Illegible),

(No. 12) The Bombay Government forwarded the portrait referred to by Maj. Meade as that of the person said to be Eswant Rao, brother of Rao Saheb.

(Vide Letter No. 1367 on p. 51).

(No. 13) W. H. Havelock regrets his inability to obtain identification of any of the photographs as resembling to any persons implicated in the late rebellion or other treasonable proceedings. Capt. Thomas Actg. Supdt. Police, Belgaum traced a likeness in 3 photographs to the persons seen by him in Belgaum and Sholapur.

(pp. 53-55)

No. 92 of 1863.

From

W. H. Havelock, Esquire,
Political Agent, S. M. Country.

To

The Honourable H. L. Anderson,
Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay,

Dated 17th July 1863.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter No. 129, dated 5th May 1863 (in the Secret Department) together with enclosures and six photographs—and in reply beg to state that after careful inquiry I have not been able to obtain recognition of any of the photographs as resembling any persons implicated in the late rebellion or other treasonable proceedings.

2. My Assistant Major Anderson showed the photograph to such persons residing at Meeruj, Sanglee, Koorandwar and elsewhere in the *Jhageer Ilakas* as were likely to have a knowledge of these men provided they belonged to or had connection with this part of the Country. But none of them have been recognised.

3. Mr. Hearn Assistant General Superintendent states that none of the photographs have been recognised by any member of the Thuggy and Dacoitee Department.

4. Captain Thomas Acting Superintendent of Police, Balgaum, has traced a likeness in three of the photographs to persons seen in Belgaum and Sholapoor, within the last few months during which I presume the originals of the photographs have remained in the Sholapoor Jail.

5. Were a nominal roll of the suspected *Gosaweas* obtainable possibly something more might be discovered regarding their antecedents.

(Signed) (Illegible),
Political Agent, S.M.C.

Political Agent's Office,
Kolapoor, 17th July 1863.

(No. 14) W. Hart forwards a list of persons seized at Pandharpur stating that the prisoners Raghunathdas and Biswadas were guilty of rebellions and were consorting together in one band when arrested.

(pp. 61-62)

No. 832 of 1863
Secretariat Department.

From

The Commissioner of Police S. D.

To

The Chief Secretary to Government,
Poona, 16th July 1863.

Sir,

I have the honor to forward herewith a list of the persons seized at Punderpoor in November last by Captain Nuttall's Agents, to whom the

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| From Commissioner to Government No. 24, dated 10th January 1863, and accompaniments. |
| From Government to Police Commissioner, No. 163, dated 3rd June 1863. |
| From Commissioner to Government No. 655, dated 15th June 1863 and accompaniments. |
| From Government to Police Commissioner, No. 1982, dated 19th June 1863 and accompaniment. |
| From Commissioner to Government No. 729 of 19th June 1863. |
| From Government to Commissioner No. 1367 of 1st July 1863. |

Correspondence quoted in the margin relates, and respectfully to suggest to Government the expediency of their issuing Warrants for the detention of these men by the Magistrate of Sholapoor as State prisoners, until something more is known as to their identity.

2. The grounds on which I submit this recommendation are that two of the men (*Ragoonathdass and †Kessawdass) are asserted to be men guilty of rebel-

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|---|
| *See my Report to Government No. 655, dated 15th June 1863, and accompaniments. |
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|--|
| †see Major Meade's Letter to Government 660, dated 13th June 1863. |
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|---|
| ‡See my Letter to Government No. 24, dated 10th January 1863 with accompaniments. |
|---|

lions, and that they were when arrested all consorting together in one band, for (as asserted by the Jemedar Dwarka ‡Tewarree) declared treasonable purposes.

(18)

3. With reference to paragraph 4 of my letter to Government No. 24, dated 10th January 1863, I should explain that the Acting Magistrate of Sholapoor, in a letter No. 468, dated the 13th instant, mentions that there were in all 9 persons apprehended together by Captain Nuttall's Agents, and not merely 6; but that photographs of the latter number only have as yet been taken. He adds that photographs of the remaining 3 will also be taken as soon as the weather permits.

(Signed) W. Hart,
Commissioner of Police, S. D.

(No. 15) The Bombay Government issued a Warrant for detention of the persons as State Prisoners by the Magistrate of Sholapur.

(Vide Letter No. 6041 on p. 64)

(No. 16) A statement of the names of the persons apprehended in Pandharpur on information from Jemadar Dwarka Tewaree.

(p. 65)

*Names of the men (as given by themselves) apprehended in
Punderpoor on information laid by Jemadar Dwarka
Tewaree, H. M. 8 Regt. No. 1.*

| | | Remarks. |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------|---|
| Have been Photographed. | Ragonathdass bin Doorgadas ... | Has been recognised by the Punjaabee Kajan Chand who states that his real name is Jorakun Sing that he was a leader of Horse at Kotah and a principal actor in the attack on that Residency, and murder of Major Burton and family. |
| | Luximondass Kirsondas ... | Jemedar Dwarka Tewaree informs that this man told him that he was Tambekar, Brother to the Dewan of the late Peishwa Bajee Rao. |
| | Kessoodass Surowpdass ... | The Ex-Rajah of Banda informs that this is Eswentrow. |
| | Somidass Daveedass ... | |
| | Luximondass Gowardundass ... | |
| | Kisoondass bin Jawan Sing ... | |
| | Behareedass Bin Sew Ram ... | |
| | Girdaree Bin Sew Lall ... | |
| | Kisondass Bin Durmadass ... | |

Accomp. to police Commissioners letter
No. 832 of 16th July 1863.
(signed) W. Hart.

(Signed),
Superintendent of Police.

(No. 17) Maj. General Lawrence communicates Mr. Brynon's opinion that Kajan Chand's statement about the prisoners was without foundation.

(pp. 69-71)

No. 875 of 1863.

From

Major General G. St. P. Lawrence C. B.,
Agent Governor General,
for the States of Rajpootana.

To

The Honourable H. L. Anderson,
Chief Secretary to Government,
Bombay.

Dt. Mount Aboo, 31st July 1863.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 1981, dated 19th June with its enclosures relative to a statement of Kajan Chand charging the prisoner Ragoonathdass with having been a chief actor in the outbreak at Kotah, when Major Burton and his two sons were barbarously murdered.

2. These papers were submitted to the Political Agent, Captain Brynon, for enquiry and his report has just reached me showing that Kajan Chund's statement has, as far as he can ascertain, his foundation on fact. Captain Brynon states that the Kotah authorities deny that any body of horse reached Kotah before the outbreak of the Maharao's¹ own troops on the 15 October 1857, though subsequently when the city and surrounding country were in the hands of the rebels Toolaram² and his horse may have sought for employment with Irydial.

3. Kajan Chand states that shortly after the fall of Delhie, a British force marched from Agra to Kotah, this is incorrect—no troops going there before the Nusserabad Division under General Roberts; as however he (Kajan Chund) speaks of Chunderee, he is perhaps confusing Kotah in the Central Provinces with Kotah of Rajpootana.

4. From the proceedings in the cases of trial of Mehrab Khan³, Irydial and other rebel leaders at Kotah the following alone were proved to be implicated in the Kotah murders.

¹ *Maha Rao*—The Kotah Rajah. In 18th Century Bhim Singh was the first Kotah Chief to bear the title of Maharao. Ram Singh II ruled from 1828 to 1866. During the mutiny of 1857 the state troops mutinied and murdered the Political Agent (Major Burton) and his two sons and also the Agency Surgeon. They also bombarded the Maharao in his palace. The loyalty of the Chief was suspected and as a mark of displeasure of Government his salute was reduced from 17 to 13 Guns. In 1862 Ram Singh received the usual *sanad* guaranteeing to him the right of adoption. He died in 1866. *IGI*, Vol. XV, pp. 413-414.

² *Rao Tularam*—Rao Tularam of Rewari was directed to collect the revenue of his area. He was playing a doubtful game while paying *nazar* and lip allegiance to the King. he was fighting his neighbours in furtherance of his personal interest.

³ *Mehrab Khan*—The rebels led by Mehrab Khan and Lala Jai Lal murdered Messrs Salder and Saviell and then attacked the Kotah Residency. *Sen, op. cit.*, p. 321.

Lalla Irydial, late Vukeel Mehrab Khan, Since Executed.
 Commandant Salabut Khan Ewaz Khan.

Sabur Ally at large 1,500 Rupees reward offered for his capture. No mention is made in these proceedings of Ruggonath Das or Toolaram, moreover, if as stated Toolaram and his followers were with the Jhujjur Nawab who was seized near Delhi after the fall of that city on 20th September 1857, it would hardly have been possible for them to reach Kotah by the 15th October the date of Major Burton's murder.

5. The papers will be forwarded to the Commissioner of Delhi for such enquiry as he may deem necessary.

Rajpootana Agency,
 Mount Aboo,
 31st July 1863.

(Signed) G. S. P. Lawrence,
 Agent Governor General.

(No. 18) Major A. R. E. Hutchinson expresses his inability to recognize any photograph in absence of details of the individuals.

(pp. 77-78)

No. 18 of 1863

From

Major A. R. E. Hutchinson,
 Political Agent at Gwalior,

To

Honourable H. L. Anderson,
 Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay.

Dt. Phool Bagh¹ the 27th July 1863.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 129 of 1863 dated 5th May forwarding copy of a letter with enclosures from the Commissioner of Police, Southern Division with copies of six photographs and to state that I have made every inquiry but without obtaining any information regarding the individuals alluded to in the enclosures to your letter under acknowledgement.

The photographs too have been circulated by the Gwalior Durbar amongst its officers and officials but none of portraits have been recognized.

Gwalior Agency.
 The 27th July 1863.

(Signed) A. R. E. Hutchinson,
 Political Agent.

(No. 19) The above letter was forwarded to W. Hart. In the meanwhile Maj-Genl. Lawrence requested to Government to keep Raghunathdas alias Jorakan Sing in close confinement at Sholapur until further communication.

(Vide Letter Nos. 250 and 130, on pp. 81-83)

¹ *Phul Bagh*—Or flower garden at Lashkar city of Gwalior State of M. P. Just below the fort of Lashkar are the palaces, standing in a walled enclosure, known as the *Phul Bagh* or Flower garden. *IGI, Vol. XVI, p. 151.*

(21)

No. 20) Warrant for arresting Raghunathdas alias Jorakan Sing, a leader in the late rebellion.

(p. 87)

WARRANT

To

The Judge and Sessions Judge,
Sholapoor.

Whereas the Governor in Council for good and sufficient reasons, has resolved that a person calling himself Raghunathdas bin Durgadass who is alleged to be Jorakin Sing, a leader in the late rebellion, shall be placed under personal restraint at Sholapur. You are hereby ordered, in pursuance of that Resolution, to receive the person abovenamed into your custody, and to deal with him in conformity to the orders of the Governor in Council and the provisions of Regulation XXV, A.D. 1827.

By order of the Honourable the
Governor in Council.

Bombay Castle,
11th September 1863.

(Signed) Chief Secretary.

(No. 21) The Bombay Government forwarded this warrant to W. Hart and the action taken was informed to Mr. Lawrence.

(Vide Letter Nos. 119 and 901A on pp. 89-92)

(No. 22) Hamilton, Comsr. of Delhi Division, reports to Maj. Gen. Lawrence confirmation made by Jacob at Gurgaon of Jorakhan's identity with Raghunathdas. On receipt of this information the Bombay Government forwarded all the papers relating to Raghunathdas to Capt. Hart.

(Vide Letter Nos. Confl. 223, 272 and 273 on pp. 95-100)

(No. 23) Maj. Genl. Lawrence forwards a communication from the Offg. Comsr. and Supdt. of Multan acquainting his inability to recognize the portrait as that of Rao Tularam.

(p. 101)

No. 1144 of 1863

From

Major General, G. S. P. Lawrence C. D.,
Governor General's Agent for the State of
Rajpootana.

To

The Honourable H. L. Anderson,
Chief Secretary to Government,
Bombay.

Aboo, Dated the 21st September 1863

Sir,

In continuation of my letter No. 901A, of the 8th instant, I have the honor to enclose a copy of a letter from the officiating Commissioner and Superintendent of Mooltan, in reply to one from the Commissioner of Delhi, enclosing the photographs of the prisoner Raghoonathdas, stating that he does not recognize the portrait as that of Rao Toolaram.

(Signed) G. S. P. Lawrence,
Governor General's Agent.

Rajputana Agency, Aboo,
21st September 1863.

(No. 24) The Delhi Commissioner forwards to the Multan Comsr. a photograph sent by Maj. Genl. Lawrence of the person calling himself Raghunathdas but is supposed to be Jorakan Sing. However, a Rewaree merchant recognized the portrait as that of Tularam. The Multan Commissioner is requested to inspect the photograph.

(p. 107)

Copy of a letter from the Commissioner of Delhi Division to the officiating Commissioner of Mooltan Division No. 222 dated 31st August 1863.

The enclosed Photograph was forwarded to me for recognition by the Agent Govr. General, Rajpootana ; the original of the portrait calls himself Raghoonathdas, but is supposed to be Jorakan Singh. However respectable merchant of Rewaree recognized the portrait, as that of Toola Ram ; as I believe you were well acquainted with Toola Ram, and perhaps also with Jorakan Singh, your opinion will be valuable, and to save time, it would be advisable for you to send your reply direct to the Agent Governor General, Rajpootana with the portrait, I beg you will also favour me with the result of your inspection of the portrait.

"True Copy"

(Signed) G. S. P. Lawrence,
Agent, Governor General.

(No. 25) Maj. Genl. Lawrence, Rajputana and A. P. Howell, N. W. P. express to Bombay Government their inability to identify the portraits of the prisoners sent to them.

(Vide Letter Nos. 288, 393 A, and 1326 on pp. 109-117)

(No. 26) The Acting Magistrate, Sholapur, submits to W. Hart Prisoner Kajan Chand's statement regarding the state prisoner Raghunathdas, reports his examination of the latter's teeth and requests Brig. Comdg. at Moorar to detain Nyal Singh.

(pp. 121-122)

No. 767 of 1863.

From

The Acting Magistrate,
Sholapur.

To

The Police Commissioner Senior Division,

Sholapur Magistrates Camp,
Angur, 31st October, 1863.

Sir,

With reference to the *correspondence regarding the identification of the State

*Received with your endorsement No. 1192
of 29th September 1863.

prisoner Raghunathdas, I have the
honour to forward statement of
a convict in the Jail here which

was volunteered by him before me on 15th October. Some part of it is a repetition of his former statement before the Police Superintendent and there are some discrepancies between the two statements, but I think there is possibly some truth in it and there would be no harm in sending to Moorar for Nyal Sing and also in sending a descriptive roll of the prisoner (herewith forwarded) to the Commissioner of Delhi in order that reference to his village may be made.

2. I have examined the teeth of the prisoner Raghunathdas and find those in the lower jaw to be most peculiar in their irregularity.

3. The upper incisor teeth appear to be perfectly regular.

4. I have written to the Brigadier Commanding at Moorar requesting him to detain Nyal Sing there in case he should be required here, as a witness. I beg for your instructions as to whether he is to be sent for, should such a man be now resident at Moorar.

Your most obedient Servant,

(Signed) ,
Acting Magistrate.

1. Moorar—(Murar) During the British period it was the cantonment in the Ex-Gwalior State. Central India (M. P. State), situated in 26° 14' N. and 78° 14' E.. on the banks of the river Morar.

(No. 27) Statement of the convict Kajan Chand (made before the Sholapur Magistrate) deposing that he and Nyal Sing had served under Nizam at Saugor and that while in Risallah, the prisoner Raghunathdas was sent in their custody from Saugor to Agra, who escaped on the road and that his real name was Jorakan Sing and Nyal Sing could identify him.

(pp. 127-129)

Statement of Convict Kajan Chand wullud Bhagchand Panjaabee.

I formerly served in the 14th *Risalla* (Sikhs) Nizam's at Saugor—Nyal Sing served with me. We were both dismissed together about 2 years ago while in the *Risalla* the prisoner now calling himself Raghoonathdas was sent in our custody from Saugor to Agra. He escaped on the road. His real name is Jorakun Singh. Nyal Sing can identify him. Nyal Sing now sells cloth at Moorar Cantonment near Saugor. I think his father's name is Roop Sing. He is a native of Lahore—Jorakun Sing's father's name was Toolaram. Jorakun Sing himself never went by the name of Toolaram. Nyal Sing should be sent for at once as he will go to the Punjab after the *Dussera*. Rughoonathdass gave me the wound I now shew in battle at Karnoul.

If reference is made to the Prisoner's native place Rewadee or Toolaram's *wadee* 30 koss south of Delhi in the Jujur Ilakha in the Jyepoor direction and the marks on his body (a mark of ropes on his arm and a black mark on his leg) described, his identity will be proved.

Prisoner's arms and horse are also now in the possession of the *Jumeendar* of Rajunpeinth which is 15 koss from Hyderabad on the Nagpoor road.

I and Nyal Sing could recognize the horse and arms as those of Jorakun Sing and the *Jumeendar*, if asked, would say who had left them with him. The *Jumeendar* has 20 or 30 villages. The arms are 1 pistol, 1 gun, and 1 sword and the horse's colour Chestnut (*Soorung*).

I give the name of Jorakun Sing's village in writing in my native character (Punjabee).

Substance of statement given by Kajan Chand Punjabee before me this day.

15th October, 1863.

(Signed) ,
Acting Magistrate.

(No. 28) Physical description of Raghunathdas as stated by the Civil Surgeon at Sholapur on 29th October 1863.

(p. 131)

Descriptive Roll of Rughoonathdass Bin Gooroo Doorgadass—Three small moles on the right cheek in the neighbourhood of the ear one mark above each nipple, the result of burning—one mole above each sternoclavicular articulation, another about two inches above the one over the right sternoclavicular articulation—one scar in the region of the shoulder joint (behind)—several faint whitish marks over each scapula.

Right lower extremity—One mole in right groin—one scar beneath right patella, another nearly in the same level on the outside of the leg—another about $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches below this—another midway between the knee and ankle joint ; another about three inches above the internal malleolus.

Left lower extremity—Small scars on front of patella and two small ones below the patella—one large dark mark midway between knee and ankle joint about four inches deep shaped some what thus.

Teeth present an unusually irregular appearance. Under jaw bone, leftside, one tooth gone, fourth from back, next one in front decayed.

Lower jaw right side—fourth from behind much decayed.

(Signed) Charles F. Ogilvie, M. D.,
Civil Surgeon.

Sholapore,
October, 29th 1863.

(No. 29) The Bombay Government requests Maj. R. J. Meade, Governor General's Agent, Central India, to ascertain whether a person named Nyal Sing resides in the Gwalior cantonment and if so whether he recognizes the portrait of Raghunathdas, alleged to be Jorakan Sing.

(pp. 134-135)

To

Major R. J. Meade,
Governor General's Agent in Central India.

Sir,

I am directed by the Honourable the Governor in Council to forward copy of the correspondence noted in the annexed list, relative to a person calling himself Raghoonathdass bin Durgoodass now a prisoner in the Sholapoor Jail, who is alleged to be Jorakin Sing, a leader in the late rebellion, accompanied by a portrait of the prisoner, and to request that you will have the goodness to ascertain whether such a person as Nyal Sing is residing in the Cantonment at Gwalior, and if so, whether he recognizes the portrait.

(Signed)

(No. 30) The Bombay Government forwards to W. Hart a correspondence from Major General Lawrence relative to the state prisoner Raghunathdas.

(pp. 135-136)

No. 321 of 1863.

To

W. Hart Esquire,
Police Commissioner,
S.D.

Sir,

I am directed by the Honourable the Governor in Council to acknowledge the receipt of the letter with enclosures from the Acting Magistrate of Sholapoor,

submitted with your Memorandum, dated the 7th instant, No. 1334, relative to the identification of the State prisoner Raghoonathdass, and to inform you that as the Governor General's Agent in Rajpootana is in communication with the authorities in the North West Provinces regarding this alleged rebel, a copy of this correspondence will be forwarded to that officer for such further inquiry as he may deem advisable.

2. I am at the same time desired to state that a copy of all the correspondence in this case will be forwarded to the Governor General's Agent in Central India, accompanied by a portrait of the prisoner, with a request that he will ascertain whether such a person as Nyal Sing is residing in the Cantonment at Gwalior, and if so, whether he recognizes the portrait.

3. I am also desired to forward for your information the accompanying copy of a letter from the Governor General's Agent in Rajpootana, dated the 2nd instant No. 1326, relative to the state prisoner, and to state that Major General Lawrence has been informed that his further report will be awaited.

B. C.

19th November 1863.

P. S.

You will be pleased to forward to the Governor General's Agent in Central India a photograph of the prisoner a copy not being available in this office.

(No. 31) Major General, Lawrence transmits a communication from the Delhi, Commissioner reporting the result of the further enquiry instituted for identifying the portrait of the prisoner Raghoonathdass.

(p. 139)

No. 1353 of 1863.

From

Major General G. St. P. Lawrence C. D.
Agent Governor General,
For the States of Rajpootana.

To

The Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay,

Dated Abboo, 9th November 1863.

Sir,

From Commissioner to Agent G. Gl. No. 269 dated 30th October 1863. In continuation of my letter No. 1326 of the 2nd instant. I have the honour for the information of the Honourable the Governor in Council to forward copies of communications, noted in the margin, from the Commissioner Dehlee Division reporting the result of the further enquiry instituted for identifying the portrait of the prisoner Raghoonathdass.

From Deputy Commr., Goorgaon to Commr. Rajpootana Agency, Abboo, Delhi, No. 137 and 129 Idem. 9th November 1863.

(Signed) G. S. P. Lawrence,
Agent Governor General.

(No. 32) These papers were to be sent to W. Hart.

(Vide Resolution No. 926 on p. 142)

(No. 33) H. E. Jacomb acquaints inability of different persons (well acquainted with Tularam) to recognize the photograph of Jorakan Sing or Raghunathdas and that a report is received in Rewaree about the death of Tularam whose mother addressed a petition stating that she received the information from Cabul.

(pp. 144-146)

No. 137.

From

The Offg. Deputy Commissioner, Goorgaon,

Dated, Goorgaon, the 29th October 1863.

Sir,

I have the honor to report that the portrait forwarded under cover of your docket No. 146, dated 23rd September has been shown to all the persons, mentioned by Mr. Fort in his letter No. 188 of 9th idem, with exception of Jugut Sing, who is dead, and of Sewa Ram who is not forthcoming—In addition I have shown it to others who were well acquainted with Toolaram. None of these persons can (or perhaps will) identify it. The only point they all concur in is that they never heard the names of either Jorakhan Sing or of Ragoonathdass. I do not suppose that either Ram Sing, the Nephew of Toolaram, or the Hakim would identify it if they could; but I know no reason why the rest should not do so. I can only therefore conclude either that the assertion of the informer regarding the man is as erroneous, as it was regarding the expedition to Kota, or the association of Toolaram with the Jhujjur Nawab, or else the only remaining alternative seems to be that they are unable to identify from portraits as is perhaps not unlikely.

2. It was natural that Toolaram should make for Khandesh and thereabouts, where the Aheer caste is strong but we have nothing to go on, and unless the peculiarity about the upper incisor tooth—a peculiarity corroborated by some of the persons examined be found to exist—I do not think there are sufficient grounds for the man's detention as after all Toolaram was never charged with any other crime than that of rebellion, and as it seems sufficiently clear that no person of the names indicated accompanied him.

(Signed) H. E. Jacomb,
Offg. Deputy Commissioner.

P.S.—It has been for some days currently reported in Rewaree that Toolaram is dead, and his mother has addressed a petition stating that she received the information from Cabool.

(True Copies).

(Signed) G. S. P. Lawrence,
Agt. Governor General.

(No. 34) The whole correspondence was sent to W. Hart.

(Vide Letter No. 327 on pp. 147-148).

(No. 35) Major A. L. McMullin, Central India, reports inability of Major J. A. Wright at Gwalior, to obtain any intelligence about Nyal Sing. The Bombay Government referred this correspondence to Mr. Hart.

(*Vide P. D. Vol. 24, Compl. I of 1864 Letter Nos. 1294, 154 and 1 on pp. 22-26*)

(No. 36) The Police Deptt. N. D. acquainted the Government of their inability to recognize the photographs of the prisoners as resembling to those implicated in the late rebellion or other reasonable proceedings. G. S. P. Lawrence intimated failure of the enquiry made by Mr. Hamilton, Delhi Commr. at Goorgaon to obtain any trace of Raghunathdas.

(*Vide Letter Nos. 1290, 388, 54 and 80 on pp. 27-34*)

(No. 37) The Bombay Government referred advices on the subject of the recognition of Raghunathdas.

(pp. 36-44)

No. 151.

In June last, Mr. Hart, the Revenue Commissioner, S. D. forwarded¹ to Government a communication addressed to him by Captain Nuttall the Superintendent of Police at Sholapoor accompanied by a statement made before that Officer by Kajun Chund a prisoner in the jail at that place, deposing that the person calling himself Raghunath Dass Bin Durgoodass just then released from jail, was Jorakun Sing nephew of one Toolaram, who was commander of three hundred horse under the Judgeer Nawab, and that he Jorakun Sing was present and took a prominent part in the attack made by a body of horse on the Residency at Kotah, when Major Burton and family were murdered.

2. Captain Nuttall in submitting this deposition to Mr. Hart, remarked that Kajun Chund had given the names of three individuals in the service of the Rajah of Kotah, in corroboration of the accusation brought by him against Raghunathdass, and he was therefore of opinion that it be advisable to refer to the Resident at Kotah to procure the statements of these men.

3. Upon this the Governor General's agent in Rajpootana was furnished with the correspondence in original² submitted by Mr. Hart, and requested to test the truth or otherwise of the allegations made by Kajun Chund, respecting the prisoner Raghunath Dass in connection with Kotah.

4. He was at the same time asked to forward on the papers to Delhi, for any enquiries he might consider should there be also made regarding the identity of Raghunath Dass with the rebel Jorakun Sing.

5. The Agent Governor General stated³ in reply in July last, that the Political Agent at Harowtee to whom a reference was made reported that Kajun Chund's statement had as far as he could ascertain, no foundation on fact. The Political Agent further stated that the Kotah authorities denied that any body of horse reached Kotah before the outbreak of the Maha Rao's own troops on the 15th October 1857.

¹ Memo. No. 655, dated the 15th June 1863.

² Government Letter No. 1981, dated the 19th June 1863.

³ Letter No. 875, dated the 31st July 1863.

6. On the 9th September following a telegram was received from the Agent Governor General, requesting that Jorakun Singh *alias* Raghunath Dass might be kept in close confinement.

7. The necessary orders were accordingly issued¹ for his detention as a state prisoner at Sholapoor pending further instructions.

8. On the 21st September Major General Lawrence forwarded copy of a letter from the Officiating Commissioner and Superintendent of Mooltan, in reply to one from the Commissioner of Delhi, stating that he could not recognize the portrait of the prisoner Raghunath Dass.

9. Major General Lawrence was thereupon requested² to state whether any probability existed of obtaining further evidence to identify Raghunath Dass with the rebel leader Jorakun Sing.

10. In reply to this he intimated³ that at the instance of the Commissioner of Delhi, he had forwarded the portrait of Raghunath Dass, to the Deputy Commissioner of Goorgaon, with the view of further enquiries being made regarding the identity of the prisoner, the result of which when received would be communicated to Government.

11. Meanwhile the Police Commissioner, Southern Division, forwarded⁴ a letter from the Acting Magistrate of Sholapur, dated the 31st October 1863 No. 767, together with a statement made before him (the Magistrate) by Kajun Chund, asserting that Raghunath Dass's real name was Jorkun Sing, that one Nyal Sing who had formerly served in the 14th *Rissallah* (Sikhs) Nizam at Saugor, could identify him, and that Nyal Sing was at that time a resident of the Moorar Cantonment near Saugor.

12. The Acting Magistrate of Sholapoor was of opinion that there was possibly some truth in Kajun Chund's statement, and that there would be no harm in sending to Moorar, for Nyal Sing, also in sending a descriptive roll of the prisoner Raghunath Dass to the Commissioner of Delhi, in order that a reference might be made to the prisoner's native place Rewadee, 30 Koss South of Delhi.

13. A copy of the Acting Magistrate's letter with enclosures, was upon this forwarded⁵ to Major General Lawrence for such further enquiry as he deemed advisable.

14. The Governor General's Agent in Central India was at the same time furnished with a copy of all the correspondence in this case, together with a photograph of the prisoner, and he was requested⁶ to ascertain whether such a person as Nyal Sing was residing in the Cantonment at Gwalior, and if so, whether he could recognize the portrait.

¹ Government Letter to the Police Commissioner No. 119, dated the 11th September 1863.

² Government Letter No. 278, dated the 13th October 1863.

³ Letter No. 1326, dated the 2nd November 1863.

⁴ Memo. No. 1384, dated the 7th November 1863.

⁵ Government Letter No. 319, dated the 19th November 1863.

⁶ Government Letter No. 320, dated the 19th November 1863.

15. In November last, Major General Lawrence forwarded copy of a communication from the Officiating Deputy Commissioner, Goorgaon, received through the Commissioner of the Delhi Division, reporting that the further enquiries instituted by him for indentifying the prisoner Raghunath Dass, had proved fruitless.

16. The Officiating Deputy Commissioner however, observed that the only conclusion he could come to was either that the assertion of Kajun Chund regarding Rughonath Dass was as erroneous as that regarding the expedition to Kotah, or the association of Toolaram with the Judgeer Nawab, or else that Natives were unable to identify from Portraits, which perhaps was not unlikely.

17. In the postscript to his letter, the Officiating Deputy Commissioner intimated that it had been for some days currently reported in Rewadee, that Toolaram was dead, and that his mother had addressed a petition stating that she received the information from Cabool.

18. In reply to the reference made to Central India for information as to the whereabouts of Nyal Sing, the 1st Assistant Agent in Charge of the Indore Residency submitted¹ copy of a communication from the Officer in Charge of the Political Agency at Gwalior, intimating that no intelligence could be obtained regarding that individual.

19. Major General Lawrence has now submitted² copy of a docket, dated the 19th March last, from the Deputy Commissioner Goorgaon, to the Commissioner of the Delhi Division, stating that all enquiries have failed to obtain any trace of Rughonath Dass.

(No. 38) The Bombay Government forwards communications from Major General Lawrence to W. Hart with instructions to set the prisoner Raghunath at liberty.

(p. 46).

No. 55 of 1864.

Secret Department.

To

W. Hart Esquire,

Police Commissioner, S.D.

Sir,

With reference to the correspondence ending with the Government letter, No. 327 dated the 2nd December last, relative to the person calling himself Rugonath Dass I am directed to forward to you the accompanying copy of a communication and of its enclosures from the Agent Governor General for the states of Rajpootana, dated the 29th ultimo No. 388, and to request that you will set the prisoner at liberty, taking from him, if you think it necessary to do so, a recognizance to appear when called for.

Bombay Castle,
28th April 1864.

(Signed)

¹ Letter No. 1294, dated the 14th December 1863.

² Letter No. 388, dated the 29th March 1864.

(No. 39) W. Hart reports that the prisoner Raghunathdass was set at liberty by the Sholapur Magistrate and recommends release of other eight prisoners.

(pp. 47-48).

No. 699 of 1864.

Secret Department.

From

The Police Commissioner, S. D.

To

The Chief Secretary to Government.

Poona, 11th June 1864.

Sir,

With reference to your letter No. 55 dated the 28th April 1864, I have the honour to state that, in accordance with the permission given by me to the Magistrate of Solapoor Mr. Gray to act according to his discretion, in the matter of the release of the prisoner Rugoonathdass bin Doorgadass, he has set the man at liberty without demanding from him any security or recognizance.

2. Mr. Gray now requests instructions as to what is to be done with the other eight persons named in the margin for whose detention as State Prisoners

1. Luxumondass Kissondass.
2. Kessodass Surowpdass.
3. Sonadass Daveedass.
4. Luxumondass Goverdhundass.
5. Kissundass Jeewunsing.
6. Behareedass Sewlam.
7. Girdharee Sewlall.
8. Kissondass Dhurmadass.

warrants were issued by Government with their letter No. 2535, dated 14th August 1863. As nothing appears to have since transpired against these men, necessitating their further detention as State Prisoners, and as the Superintendent of Police Captain Nuttall, whose opinion I invited on the

subject, has no objection to their being set at large, I beg to recommend that their release be ordered by Government.

(Signed) W. Hart,

Police Commissioner, S.D.

(No. 40) The Bombay Government directs W. Hart to release the remaining eight prisoners from the custody.

(p. 51).

No. 107 of 1864.

Secret Department.

To

W. Hart, Esquire, Revenue Commissioner, S.D.

Sir,

With reference to your letter No. 699, dated the 11th instant, recommending the release of eight persons who were detained as state prisoners under instructions from Government, dated the 14th August 1863, No. 2535, I am directed to state that the Honourable the Governor in Council directs that these prisoners be released from custody and set at liberty.

B. C.

27th June 1864.

(Signed)

राघोबादादासंबंधी हकिगत *

रघुनाथराव दादासंबंधीची ही हकिगत महादजीराम कर्दीकर (करंदीकर) नावाच्या त्यांच्या आश्रिताने लिहून ठेविली. ती सांगलीचे राजे श्रीमंत अप्पासाहेब पटवर्धन यांच्या खाजगी दप्तरात सापडली. हे करंदीकर रघुनाथरावांकडे १७५९ पासून चाकरीस राहिले असावे कारण ह्या सालापासूनचे रघुनाथरावांच्या हालचालीसंबंधीचे वृत्त त्यांनी ह्या स्मरणिकेत दिले आहे. दादासाहेब इ.स. १७८३ डिसेंबर ११ रोजी निवर्तले. त्याक्षणापर्यंत हे कर्दीकर दादांजवळ होते. तदनंतर ५० वर्षांनी म्हणजे इ. स. १८३३-३४ मध्ये त्यांनी आपल्या उतार वयात दादासाहेबांची हकिगत जशी स्मरेल तशी वर सांगितल्याप्रमाणे सांगलीच्या राजेसाहेबांच्या आज्ञेने लिहिलेली आहे. महादजीपंत करंदीकर ह्यांना सांगलीचे राजे चिंतामणराव पांडुरंग यांनी दिनांक १६ नोव्हेंबर १८२९ रोजी पत्र पाठवून लिहिले, “तुम्ही श्रीमंत कैलासवासी दादासाहेब यांजवळ होता. तुम्हास श्रीमंतांच्या वेळेची माहितीगारी आहे, त्याप्रमाणे तुम्हास माहितीगारी असेल ती व माहिती नसेल त्याचा शोध करून तपशीलवार लिहून पाठवावे.” विनंतीप्रमाणे महादजीपंत सांगलीस गेले. त्यांना वृद्धापकाळामुळे घोड्यावर बसून जाणे झाले नाही. म्हणून राजेसाहेबांच्या आज्ञेप्रमाणे ते पालखीतून सांगलीस आले^१ आणि इथे दिलेली हकीगत त्यांनी स्मरेल तशी लिहून इ. स. १८३२-३३ मध्ये पुरी केली व ते परत पुण्यास राहण्यास गेले. ह्या कैफियती-संबंधांत श्रीमंतानी करंदीकरांना पुन्हा पुण्याहून सांगलीस बोलाविले असता वृद्धापकाळामुळे ते सांगलीस जाऊ शकले नाहीत. त्यांचा अंत पुण्यास २९ नोव्हेंबर १८३८ मध्ये झाला.^२

प्रस्तुत कैफियतीत दादासाहेबांच्या हकिगतीची सुरुवात त्यांचा माधवरावांशी सत्ता स्पर्धेचा झगडा चालू झाला इथून होते. माधवरावाने दादासाहेबास अखेरीस कैदेत ठेविले, तरी अंत समयी माधवरावाने दादांची कैदेतून सुटका केली. तेव्हां दादा माधवरावांच्या समाचारासाठी थेटरास गेले. तेथे त्या उभयतांत बोलणी झाली. माधवरावांनी चुलत्यास विचारिले की, “मी व नारायणराव उभयतां असतां आपण अमृतरावास दत्तक घेतले त्यास आम्ही उभयतांनी काय करावे याची आज्ञा व्हावी.” त्याजवरून दादासाहेब यांनी उत्तर दिले, “अमृतराव यास सात लक्षांची जहागीर देऊन दौलतीस त्याचा अधिकार नाही असे लिहून देतो व मुलाही १२ लक्षांची जहागीर द्यावी म्हणजे मीही दौलतीस अधिकार नाही असे लिहून देतो.” त्याप्रमाणे कराराच्या याद्या झाल्या. पेशव्यांस सुमारे ८५ लक्षांचे कर्ज होते त्याचेही निवारण आपण करतो व नारायणाचा सांभाळ करतो असे दादासाहेबांनी माधवराव पेशव्यास वचन दिले अशी हकिगत लेखक देतो. ह्या वचनाप्रमाणे दादासाहेब पुढे वागलेले दिसत नाहीत. लेखकाने नारायणरावाच्या वधापासून सर्व घटनांचे तपशीलवार वर्णन दिले आहे. तो म्हणतो की, नारायणरावास पेशवाई प्राप्त झाल्यावर कांही दिवसांतच दादास नजरकैद झाली. त्याचा राग येऊन दादा व त्यांचे पक्षपाती ह्यांनी नारायणरावास धरण्याचा कट रचला. त्यांत नारायणरावास धरल्यानंतरही आपणास शासन होणार तर त्यास जीवेंच मारावें असा विचार निघून त्याचीच अंमलबजावणी झाली ह्याचे सविस्तर व सुसंगत वृत्त ह्या हकिगतीत सापडते. दादासाहेबांस पेशवाईची वस्त्रे मिळाल्यावर ते हैदराबाच्या बंदोबस्तासाठी कर्नाटकात निघून गेले. तेव्हा त्यांच्या पाठीमागे बारभाईचे कारस्थान नाना फडणवीस, सखाराम बापू, आदि मुत्सद्यांनी उभारून नारायणरावाची बायको गंगाबाई जी गरोदर होती तीस धोका पोहचू नये म्हणून पुरंदरास सुरक्षितपणे नेऊन ठेविली. दादासाहेबांचे जे पक्षपाती होते त्यांस ह्या खांदेपालटाच्या हकिगतीचा सुगावा बिलकूल न लागू देता बारभाईने कारभार स्वीकार करून गंगाबाईच्या नावाने कारभार चालविला. यावेळी गंगाबाईस कशा

* ही कैफियत सांगलीचे राजेसाहेब श्रीमंत पटवर्धन यांचे सौजन्याने व सांगली संस्थानचे जुने अधिकारी श्री. गोविंदराव कुंटे यांचे प्रयत्नाने आम्हांस उपलब्ध झाली. ती प्रसिद्ध करू दिल्याबद्दल श्रीमंत राजेसाहेब, सांगली, यांचे आम्हीं आभारी आहोत.—संपादक.

^१ सांगली दप्तरांतील पत्र, इ. १७९.

^२ किता.

हिकमतीने बाहेर काढले ह्यासंबंधीच्या बारीकसारीक घटनांचे वर्णन लेखक करतो. ह्या घटनेनंतर दादासाहेब पुण्यास येण्यास निघतात. त्यांजवर कारभारी मंडळीने त्रिवकराव मामांस तैऱ्यासह रवाना केले.

इथून दादांच्या सारख्या भराच्या चालू झाल्या. त्यांत कारभार्यांस चकविण्याचा भाग मोठा. त्रिवकरावमामा पंढरपुरी दादासाहेबांवर चालून गेले. त्यांस मारून दादा निसटले. तो त्याच साली बऱ्हाणपूर पावतो कारभार्यांचे भेटीस येऊन तेथून सर्वासच चकवून गुजराथेत इंग्रजांकडे गेले. तेथे आनंदमोगरीच्या लढाईत ते हाती सांपडणार, इतक्यात शिताफी करून ते समुद्रमार्गे सुरतेस गेले. पुरंदरचा तह होऊन ते हस्तगत होणार, तो दमण तारापुरावरून ते मुंबईस गेले. दत्तक मुलगा अमृतराव यास त्यांनी तारापूरच्या किल्ल्यात ठेवले. भिमराव पानशे यांनी तारापूरचा किल्ला घेतल्यावर अमृतराव जहाजात वसून मुंबईस दादासाहेबांकडे गेला. एवढी हकिगत देऊन लेखक दादासाहेब इंग्रजांबरोबर पुण्यास येण्यास निघाल्याचे सांगतो. इस्टूर फाकड्याबरोबर दादांचा मुक्काम बोरघाटात झाला तो तारीख ४ जानेवारी १७७९ रोजी इस्टूर फाकडा मरेपर्यंत. दुसरे दिवशी दादांचा मुक्काम वडगांवास पडला. तिथे पेशव्यांच्या फौजेची आणि इंग्रजांची गाठ पडली. बहुत लढाया झाल्या. इंग्रजांचा पाडाव झाला. दादासाहेब शिद्यांच्या स्वाधीन झाले. शिद्यांनी आपला सरदार हरी बाबाजी यास दादांबरोबर झाशीस जाण्यास सांगितले. लेखकाने दादासाहेबांच्या चारी लग्नांच्या हकिगती सांगितल्या आहेत. पुढे त्याप्रमाणे दादा हरी बाबाजीबरोबर पुण्याहून निघाले. दादांची स्वारी पुण्याहून निघाल्यावर दादांनी महेश्वरानजीक मंडलेश्वरपर्यंत जे अनेक मुक्काम केले त्या त्या मुक्कामांत मुलामाणसास भेटणें, देवदर्शन व स्वतःचे लग्न उरकून घेणे, आदि जी कृत्ये केली. त्या घटना येथे विस्तृतपणे सांगितल्या आहेत. हरि बाबाजींशी कुसपट काढून दादानें हरि बाबाजींस कसे ठार केले व स्वतः गुजराथेस कसे पळाले ह्याचेही वर्णन लेखकाने केले आहे.

दादा अंकलेश्वरच्या मुक्कामास आल्यावर तेथे इंग्रजांचा प्रतिनिधी दादांस येऊन भेटला. तिथे आठ दिवसांनी तापी तीरी इंग्रज सेनानी जनरल गांडाई याने दादांची भेट घेतली व त्यांस ते तेथून सुरतेस घेऊन गेले.

दादा दुसऱ्यांदा सुरतेस पळून इंग्रजांच्या आश्रयास गेल्यावर सुरतकर इंग्रजांनी त्यांस आश्रय दिला. इंग्रज दादांना पाठीशी घालून मराठ्यांशी विवाड करू लागले. इंग्रज सेनापती गांडाई ह्यास वडगांवला मराठ्यांशी झालेला अपमानकारक तह सहन न होऊन त्याने सुड म्हणून मराठ्यांचा गुजराथेतील मुख्य घेण्यास सुरवात केली. त्याने अहमदाबादवर चाल करून अहमदाबाद घेतले व तेथे आपले निशाण लाविले. सोबत अमृतराव होता. लेखक म्हणतो की, गांडाईने अहमदाबादेवर आपला बावटा लाविला हे दादास रुचले नाही. दादांनी गोडाई यास निरोप पाठविला की, "तुम्हांस क्रूमकेस आणविले असतां तुम्ही बावटा लाविला ही तुम्हांकडून बेकैदी जाहली. त्यापेक्षां तुम्ही कंपुसुद्धां निघून जाणें." गोडाई सुरतेस परत आल्यावर दादासाहेबांनी सांगितले की, "तुम्ही बेकैदी केली, त्यापेक्षां आम्हांपासी राहूं नये. पाहिजे तिथे जावें." या ठिकाणी इंग्रज जणू काय दादांचे नोकर असून दादांच्या हुक्मात राहून सर्व हालचाली करीत आहेत, असा दखावा लेखक करीत आहे. लेखक दादांचा आश्रित असल्यामुळे वस्तुस्थितीचा विपर्यास करून त्याने धन्याच्या अंगी मोठेपणा लावला आहे. खरी हकिगत अशी आहे की, दादा पुन्हा इंग्रजांकडे सुरतेस गेले, तेव्हा इंग्रजांनी त्यांचा धिक्कारच केला. ते दादांस म्हणाले, "तुम्ही बेईमान, तुमच्या वचनांत दडता नाही. तुमचे नादी लागून आम्ही कर्जदार मात्र जाहलो. पेशजी तुम्हांस रुपया दिला तो वसूल नाही. लढाईत खराबी आमची, तुम्हांजवळ ना फौज ना खर्चास, तुमची सोबत आम्हांस नको." नंतर मातुशी आनंदीबाईची पत्रे इमान पुरस्सर अमृतरावासह गेली. तेव्हां पुढें इंग्रजांची चित्तशुद्धता झाली.^१ असो.

करंदीकरानी इंग्रज व बारभाईचा तह झाल्यापर्यंतची हकिगत देऊन, ते लिहितात "दादांचे सगळे उपाय थकल्यावर त्यांनी आनंदीबाई, अमृतराव आदि आप्त मंडळीस जवळ बोलावून

^१ ऐ. ले. सं. ६, ले. १९३६.

^२ म. द. बा. १, ले. १.

सांगितले की, आजपर्यंत आम्ही बहुत खटपट केली परंतु कोणताही व्यवहार सिद्धीस गेला नाही. आम्ही गंगातीरीच रहाण्याचे करतो व पुण्यास लिहून पाठवून तुमचा बंदोबस्त करून देतो. याप्रमाणे पुण्यास लिहून पाठविल्यावर गंगातीरी दादांस आणण्याची व्यवस्था पेशवे दरबारने केली. या संबंधीची विस्तृत हकीगत येथे दिलेली आढळते. त्यांत दादासाहेब जणू काय सरकारी पाहुणे आहेत अशा थाटाचे वर्णन आढळते. दादासाहेबांनी गंगातीरी आनंदवल्लीस रहाण्याचे निश्चित केले व माधवराव पेशव्यांची मातुश्री गोपिकाबाई हिला आपण भेटीस येतो असा निरोप पाठविला. तेव्हां बाईंनी उत्तर पाठविले की, दादांनी प्रायश्चित करून नंतर येऊन आनंदवल्लीस रहावे. 'प्रायश्चित घेण्यास आम्ही सिद्ध आहोत,' असे जाहीर करून धर्मशास्त्राप्रमाणे दादांनी प्रायश्चित घेतले. पश्चात वाडा बांधून ते गंगातीरी राहू लागले.

दादा अखेरचे दिवस कसे घालवीत असत यासंबंधीची हकीगत देऊन त्यांचा मृत्यु झाल्यावर त्यांचे क्रियाकर्म नाना फडणीसांनी किती पैसे खर्च करून केले हे या हकीगतीत सांगितले आहे. अंतकाळ होण्याचे चार दिवस पूर्वी दादानी लेखकास बोलावून, "तू आमची चाकरी निष्ठेने केलीस तुला खर्चास चार हजार रुपये देतो, ते घेऊन यात्रेस अगर आपले घरी जाणे" असे सांगितले. लेखक म्हणतो, 'मी दादांच्या मनोदयानुरूप तीन हजार रुपये दिले ते घेऊन कोपरगांवास घरी गेलो.' येथे ही हकीगत संपते.

मार्च १७७५ पासून १७८३ च्या जूनपर्यंत तब्बल ८ वर्षे दादा इंग्रजांचे आश्रयास होते. ते या मुदतीत बारभाईच्या हाती प्रत्यक्ष दोनदा सापडले व दोनदा सापडण्याच्या वेतात असता पळून गेले. दादांस पकडून त्यांचा कायमचा बंदोबस्त करावा ही नाना फडणीसांची इच्छा. त्या करिता शिंदे होळकरांस नानांकडून तगादा लावला गेला. पण दादा हे थोरल्या बाजीरावसाहेबांचे पुत्र, बाजीरावसाहेबांमुळे आपला उदय झाला, तेव्हां शिंदे होळकरांच्या मनात दादांविषयी आदराच्या भावना होत्या, हे निःसंशय. नाना फडणीस दादांस खुनी समजत. पण शिंदे होळकर दादांस दौलतीचा एक वारस समजत. शिंद्यांना त्यांच्या मनाविरुद्ध दादांच्या बाबतीत झालेले नाना फडणीसांचे हुकूम मानावे लागत, हे 'बाजीरावांचा पुत्र दादा वचनेकरून धरून आणिला', या नाना फडणीसास महादजी शिंद्यांनी दिलेल्या उत्तरावरून दिसून येते.

ह्या यादीत न उल्लेखिलेल्या पण इतिहासास माहिती असलेल्या दादासाहेबांच्या हालचाली.

तारीख १ मार्च १७७६ ला इंग्रज व पुणे दरबार ह्यांमध्ये पुरंदर मुकामी तह झाला. या तहाने राधोबादादास इंग्रजांनी मदत करू नये, त्याने पेन्शन घेऊन कोपरगांवास रहावे असे ठरले. तहाप्रमाणे इंग्रजांनी राधोबास आश्रय देण्याचे नाकारले. तेव्हां दादा फार घाबरले. कारभार्यांच्या हाती आपण सापडलो तर ते आपला जीव घेतील असा दादांनी कांगावा केल्यावरून इंग्रजांनी त्यांस दोनशे लोकांनिशी सुरतेत राहू दिले.^१ तिथेही त्यांस चैन पडेना. तेव्हा ते फिरत फिरत दमण येथील पोर्तुगिजांच्या आश्रयास गेले. येथील अधिकाऱ्यांमार्फत गोव्याच्या गव्हर्नराशी बोलणे लाविले की आपणास तुमच्या मुलखांत रहाण्यास जागा द्यावी ; नाहीतर हैदरअलीकडे जलमार्गे पोचते करून द्यावे.^२ ही बातमी पुण्यास कारभार्यांस कळली तेव्हां त्यांनी पुण्यातील पोर्तुगिजांच्या वकिलास बोलावून आणून तंबी दिली. तंबीचा उपयोग रास्त होऊन गोव्याच्या गव्हर्नराकडून दादांच्या विनंतीस नकार मिळाला.^३ पोर्तुगीज गव्हर्नरने दादांस सांगितले की तुम्हांस पाहिजे असेल तर दमणच्या किल्यात पंचवीस माणसांनिशी येऊन रहावे. दादा ह्या उत्तराने निराश होऊन मुंबईस येऊन मुकाम ठोकून इंग्रजांच्या पेन्शनवर दिवस कटू लागले.^४

वरील थोडे अपवाद सोडले तर ही अशी एकच कैफियत आहे की तीत दादांच्या पानीपतोत्तर हालचालींची सुसूत्रपणे हकीगत मिळते. या साधनाचा अभ्यासू उपयोग व्हावा.

^१ ऐ. ले. सं. ५, पृ. २४६६.

^२ किता, पृ. २४६७.

^३ किता, पृ. २४६७.

^४ किता, पृ. २४६७.

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यादी स्मरणार्थ जवानो माहादाजी राम कर्दीकर गुा सलास सलासीन मयातेन व अलफ माहे जमादिलाखर कार्तिक मास.

१ कैलासवासो सिवाजी माहाराज राजे याणी अवदलखान जावली यास मारून^१ त्याचे राज्य घेतले. सन १०७० शालीवान शके १५८२ सन इहिदे सितेनात घेऊन दोन वर्षे अमल केला.

१ शास्ताखा सुभा याणे चाकणचा किला घेतला.^२ चैत्र शुभा १० शके १५८४ सन सलास सितैन अलफ त्याचा पुत्र शिवाजी राजे याणी मारून त्याचा आंगठा कापून नेला.^३ आणि आपण तीन वर्षे त्यांचा अंमल केला. पुढे विठल केर देव देशपांडे प्रांत पुणें यानी मिरजा राजा आणिला. त्याचे लस्करचा पुरंधराखाली तळ कोडितावर होता. त्या बळानें ठाणीं घातली. आणि च्यार वर्षे अमल केला. पुढें विठल केर देव देशपांडे कार्तिक वा ४ मृत्य पावले. परंतु मिरजा राजा याणें तसाच पुढें शके १५९१ पासून साहा वर्षे शके १५९६ पर्यंत अंमल केला.

१. सिवाजी राज सिव्हासनाखूढ रायगड किला येथे ज्येष्ठ वा १३ शके १५९७ राक्षस संवछरी [ज्येष्ठ शुद्ध १३ शके १५९६=६ जून १६७४]* जाले. आणि सदरहू मिरजा राजा याचे पारपत्य करून राज्य सर केले. आणि साहा वर्षे राज्याचा उपभोग घेऊन चैत्र शुभा १५ शके १६०२ रौद्र संवछरी [३ एप्रिल १६८०] कैलासवास केला.

१ पुढें संभाजी राजे सिव्हासनाखूढ श्रावण शुभा ५ शके १६०३ जाले [श्रावण शुद्ध ५ (नागपंचमी) शके १६०२=२० जुलै १६८०]

१ शाऊ राजे याचा जन्म शके १६०५ जाला. [वैशाख वद्य ६ शके १६०४=१७ मे १६८२]

१ औरंगशाहा पातशा याणी विजापूरची पातशाई घेतली शके १६०७.

१ राजाराम रायगडाहून चंदीस गेले शके १६१०.

१ संभाजीराजे फाल्गुन वा ३० शके १६११ तुळापुरी आवरंगजेव पातशाहा याचे लस्करांत शांत जाहले. याचे कारण संभाजी राजे यांस पातशाहा याणी धरून आणिले.^४ आणि कुर्नुसात करावी म्हणोन आर्जेबेग याणी सांगितले.^५ त्यावरून राजे याणी सांगितले जे पातशाई आपली मुलगी देत असल्यास कुरनुसात करीन त्यावरून पातशाई यास राग येऊन डोळे काढिले त्या इजेने मृत्यू पावले.^६ त्याचे पुत्र शाऊ महाराज यास कैद करून दिल्लीस नेले. हे वर्तमान दिल्लीस^७ पातशाई याचे मुलीस समजले. तेव्हां तिणे सांगितले कीं, मला इतःपर लग्न करावयाचे नाही. मजवर ज्याणे नजर ठेवन मृत्यू पावला तोच माझा नवरा. हली त्याचा पुत्र आहे तोच माझा पुत्र. त्याचेच चालवावे.^८ तेव्हां पातशाई याणी दक्षिणची साडे सहा सुभ्याची देशमुखी दर शेकडा रूा १२ प्रो. झुटीसानक करून सनदा दिल्या.^९ तो अमल श्रीमंत राजश्री वाजीराव रघुनाथ पुण्यातून जाईपर्यंत चालत आला. हाली कंपनी सरकारात आहे.^{१०} साडे सहा सुभे कोणकोणते त्याचे तपसीलवार याद अलाहिदा मी दिलीच आहे.

^१ अफझलखानाचा वध ता. १० नोव्हेंबर १६५९ रोजी झाला.

^२ शाएस्ताखानानें चाकणचा किल्ला ऑगष्ट १६६० मध्ये घेतला.

^३ शिवाजी महाराजांनी चैत्र शुद्ध ८ शके १५८५ तारीख ५ एप्रिल १६६३ रोजी शाएस्ताखानावर अचानक छपा घातला. त्यांत खानाचा एक मुलगा व ६ दासी व बायका मारल्या गेल्या. खानाचा अंगठा कापला गेला. म. रि., शककर्ता शिवाजी, पृ. ८७.

^४ पातशाहा औरंगजेबाच्या आज्ञेने संभाजीस मुकरबखान ह्याने कैद केले.

^५ इखलासखान आणि हमीदुद्दीखान ह्यांनी संभाजीनें बादशाहास कुर्नुसात करावी म्हणून खूप समजाविले 'फुतूहते आलमगीरी', भाषांतर—सेतु माधवराव पगडी—'मोंगल मराठा संघर्ष', पृ. ३१.

^६ संभाजीचा शिरच्छेद झाला.

^७ शाहूस औरंगजेव बादशाहाचे कैदेत नेले. बादशाहा औरंगजेव दक्षिणेतच अहमदनगर येथे १७०७ मध्ये वारला. शाहूस अझमखानाने भोपाळपर्यंत आपल्याबरोबर नेले. त्यांची सुटका तारीख ८ मे १७०७ रोजी दारोहा या गांवी झाली. तिथून तो दक्षिणेत परतला. तो दिल्लीस कधीच गेला नाही.

^८ हे सर्व खोटे, कारण झेबुनिसा त्या वेळी ४६ वर्षांची होती व संभाजी ३२ वर्षांचा होता. पहा, बंदेकृत संभाजी, पृ. ६१२-१३.

^९ सरदेशमुखी दर शेकडा १० प्रमाणे होती "खाफीखान"—भाषांतर, सेतु माधवराव पगडी "मराठ्यांचे स्वातंत्र्य युद्ध", पृ. ११७. (झुटी सानक=चाकरीची मागणी करून दिलेली देणगी).

^{१०} ही बखर १८३३ मध्ये ज्यावेळी कंपनी सरकारचे राज्य सुरू होते त्यावेळी लिहिली गेली.

* [] कसांतील भजकूर संपादकांचा.

१ राजाराम राजे चंदीस गेल्यानंतर जुनपुगारखान [झुलपिकारखान] याणे अमल बसविला. नंतर राजाराम राजे चंदीहून शके १६१२ साली येऊन त्याचा अमल उठऊन आपला (अमल) बसविला. जुनपुगारखान याणे शके १६१० व शके १६११ दोन साल अमल केला.^१

१ राजाराम राजे फाल्गुन वा ९ शके १६२२ [२ मार्च १७००] विक्रम संवत्तरी शांत जाहले.

१ अमरसिंगखान चंदगडी याचा पुत्र किंवा पुतण्या याचे वेळेस राजश्री रंभाजी निंबाळकर याणी पुणे लुटले अमल येक वर्ष केला^२ शके १६२९.

१ शाऊ राजे राज्यारूढ जाहाले शके १६२९ [माघ शुद्ध १ सोमवार शके १६२९= १२ जानेवारी १७०८].

१ बाहादुरशा व अजमशाहा याचे युद्ध जाले.^३ शके १६२९ आजमशाहा पडले रामसिंग बंड याचे कबंद उठले.^४ तेच वर्षी शाऊ राजे मुंगळाईतून दक्षिणेत येत असतां खेडावर ताराबाईच्या फौजा जाऊन युद्ध जाले. शाऊ महाराजाची फते जाली.^५ ताराबाई पळून रांगणा किल्ल्यास गेली.

१ बाहादुरशा भागानगरास जाऊन कामबक्ष यास मारून पातशाई घेतली^६ शके १६३१.

१ त्रिवकजी डमढेरे तळेगावकर याणी पुणे लुटून आपले ठाणे बसविले शके १६३३ फाल्गुन मास.

१ रंभाजी निंबाळकर यांनीं त्रिवकजी डमढेरे याचे ठाणे उठऊन बाजी कदम फौजदार यास ठेविला. त्याणे ७ वर्षे अमल केला. शके १६३४.

१ बहिरोपंत पिंगळे याजकडे पेशवाई होती ती शाऊ महाराज याणी काढून बाळाजी विश्वनाथ देशमुख हे सरकार चाकरीच्या वहुत उपयोगी पडले, सबब त्याजकडे सांगितली शके १६३६ [मार्गशीर्ष शुद्ध ११ शके १६३५=१७ नोव्हेंबर १७१३].

१ बाळाजी विश्वनाथ प्रधान याणी सैदाची फौज आणून हिंगणगांव घेऊन दमाजी गायकवाड यास धरिले आणि सैदास बरोबर घेऊन दिलीस गेले. तेथे पातशाई यासी बोलण्यात तह केला की, श्री भीमा नदी दक्षिणेकडील अमल शाऊ राजे याणी करावा. इतःपर बंड प्रांतांत करू नये असे पातशाहा याणी सांगितल्यावरून तह केला. याणि निघोन दक्षिणेस आले ते वेळेस बरोबर फौज पनास हजार होती. बाजी कदम याचे ठाणे पुण्यात होते ते उठऊन पेशवे याणी आपला अमल बसविला. आणि तेथील काम आबाजी त्रिवक पुरंदरे यास सांगितले मुलकास कौल देऊन वसात [वसाहत] केली शके १६४१.

^१ झुलपिकारखानानें २५ मार्च १६८९ मध्ये रायगडाला वेढा दिला. ५ एप्रिल रोजी राजाराम रायगडावरून निसटून जिजीस जाण्याकरितां पन्हाळचास आला. ३ नोव्हेंबर रोजी रायगड झुलपिकारखानाचे ताब्यांत आला. राजाराम जिजीस गेला हे कळल्यावर औरंगजेबानें झुलपिकारखानाला जिजीवर जाण्याची आज्ञा केली. १६९० जूनमध्ये झुलपिकारखानानें जिजीस वेढा दिला. तो सात वर्षे चालून, १६९७ डिसेंबर मध्ये राजाराम जिजीहून निसटल्यावर ७ फेब्रुवारी १६९८ रोजी जिजी झुलपिकारखानाच्या स्वाधीन करण्यांत आली. यावरून वरील हकीगत विसंगत दिसते.

^२ औरंगजेबाचे काळांत पुणें प्रांत मोगलांचे ताब्यांत होता. १६९३ पासून पुढे १० वर्षे यासीनखान पुण्याचा ठाणेदार झाला. त्यापुढे रंभाजी निंबाळकर हा मोगलांतर्फे ठाणेदार म्हणून आला. रंभाजीस मोगलांनी पुण्याची जहागीर दिली ती १७०९ पासून १७१६ पर्यंत चालली. राजवाडे, म. इ. सा. खं. २०, पृ. ७२; म. रि. मध्यविभाग १, पृ. ७२.

^३ औरंगजेबाचे दोन मुलगे अजमशाहा व बहादुरशाहा यांचे युद्ध आप्रचाजवळ जाजौ येथें ८ जून १७०७ रोजी झाले. त्यांत अजमशाहा मारला गेला. व बहादुरशाहा बादशहा झाला.

^४ रामसिंग हाडा हा मुअज्जमच्या बाजूने लढत असतां त्याचे शिर घडा वेगळे झाले.

^५ १२ ऑक्टोबर १७०७ रोजी शाहूची खेडच्या लढाईत फते झाल्यावर शाहू साताऱ्यावर सातारा सोडून पन्हाळगडी गेली.

^६ बहादुरशाहाची हैदराबादेजवळ औरंगजेबाचा सर्वात धाकटा मुलगा कामबक्ष याच्याशी लढाई होऊन त्यांत कामबक्ष तारीख ३ जानेवारी १७०९ रोजी मारला गेला.

१ बाळाजी विश्वनाथ सासवडी चैत्र शुभा ७ शके १६४३ [चैत्र शुद्ध ६ शके १६४२ शनिवार = २ एप्रिल १७२०] कैलासवासी जाले. त्याचे पुत्र बाजीराव यांस वैशाख मासी [१७ एप्रिल १७२०] पेशवाईची वस्त्रे सातान्यास जाली.

१ बाजीराव प्रधान यासी बाळाजी बाजीराव पुत्र मार्गशीर्ष मासी लोहगडी जन्मले शके १६४४ [मार्गशीर्ष वद्य १३ सह १४ शके १६४३, बुधवार तारीख ६ डिसेंबर १७२१].

१ धाकटे संभाजी राजे याणी निज्यामन मुलुक यास आणून पेशजी बाळाजी विश्वनाथ याणी तह केला होता तो बिघडला. त्यावरून बाजीराव प्रधान याणी पनास हजार फौज घेऊन औरंगाबाजेभोवती घामधूम करून ठाणी घातली. त्यावरून औरंगाबाजेहून फौज आली. त्याची व याची लढाई पैठणां नजीक जाली. तेव्हां बाजीराव यांची फत्ते जाहाली. ते वेळे निजामन मुलुक याणी सला केली शके १६४९. [चैत्र शुद्ध ६ शके १६५० = ६ मार्च १७२८].

१ संभाजी राजे दक्षिणेस येऊन वारणा नदी पलीकडे राज्य करावे. असा तह शाऊ महाराज यासी करून करवीरास येऊन राहिले शके १६५०.^१

१ सदाशीव चिमणाजी याचा जन्म श्रावण शुभा १ शके १६५३ साली जाला.*

१ पुण्यात शनिवारचे वाड्यास कामास प्रारंभ श्रावण वा ५ शके १६५५ बाजीराव याणी केला [माघ शुद्ध ३ शनिवार तारीख १० जानेवारी १७३०].

१ श्रीमंत दादासाहेब श्रावण शुभा ३ शके १६५७ जन्मले [आनंद संवत्सर श्रावण शुद्ध १३ शके १६४६ = १ ऑगस्ट १७३४].

१ सरकारचे वाड्यापासी प्राचीन गाव कुसू होते ते मोडून चिमाजी आपा याणी देवमोही या बावेची जमीन घेऊन केदारवेलीपासून पश्चिमेचे वेसीपर्यंत गाव कुसू घातले शके १६६०.

१ श्रीमंत दादासाहेब यांचा व्रतबंध माघ शुभा २ शके १६६२ [माघ शुद्ध २ शके १६६१ = ४ फेब्रुवारी १७४०] जाहला.

१ बाजीराव बलाळ पेशवे श्रीनरमदेचे तीरी मुकाम काकडे प्रांत रावेरण [रावेर] येथे वैशाख शुभा १३ शके १६६३ [वैशाख शुद्ध १३ शके १६६२ = २८ एप्रिल १७४०] कैलासवासी जाले. त्याचे पुत्र बाळाजी बाजीराव यांस पेशवाईची वस्त्रे जाली [२५ जून १७४०] पुढे त्यांचे चुलते चिमाजी आपा पौष शुभा ११ शके १६६३ देवआज्ञा जाले [१७ डिसेंबर १७४०].

१ श्रीमंत विश्वासराव बल्लाळ यांचा जन्म श्रावण शुभा २ शके १६६५ [२२ जुलै १७४२] जाहला.

१ श्रीमंत दादासाहेब यांचे लग्न वैशाख शुभा ३ शके १६६७ [२५ फेब्रुवारी १७४२] जाले. गोविंद गणेश बर्वे यांची कन्या.^३

१ माधवराव याचा जन्म श्रावण वा ५ शके १६६७ [माघ वद्य ११-१२ शके १६६६ शनिवार = १६ फेब्रुवारी १७४५] जाला.

१ सिवनेर किला सरकारांत वैशाख मासी आला शके १६७९.

१ श्रीमंत विश्वासराव व भाऊसाहेब याणी सलामत ज्यंग व निज्याम अलीच्या निज्यामन मुलुक याजवर लढाई करून सिकस्त केले.^३ पासष्ट लक्षाची जहागीर व दौलताबाद किला व आशरी किला व बराणपूर सुभा व विजापूर सुभा येणे प्रो घेतली शके १६८१.^४ त्याच साली दत्ताजी सिंदे पडल्याची [१० जानेवारी १७६०] खबर आली [१५ फेब्रुवारी १७६०]

^१ वारणेचा तह चैत्र वद्य २, शके १६५३ तारीख १३ एप्रिल १७३१ रोजी शाहू व संभाजी (करवीरकर) यांचेमध्ये झाला. (क. छ. घ. इ. सा. भाग १, ले. ५३)

^२ गोपाळभट बर्वे यांची कन्या जानकीबाई. सरदेसाई, मराठी रियासत, ५.२, पृ. १५.

^३ उद्गीरची लढाई, फेब्रुवारी १७६०.

^४ उद्गीरचा तह, ११ फेब्रुवारी १७६०.

* सदाशिवराव भाऊचा जन्म-३ ऑगस्ट १७३० (मराठी रियासत, ५.२ पृ. ४००)

तेव्हां भाऊसाहेब याणी व विश्वासराव याणी नानासाहेबांची भेट घेऊन उभयतां दिलीस जाण्याकरितां गारपिरावर मुकाम केला.^१ तेथे कार्तिक शुभा ९ मुशाफर जंग याणे भाऊसाहेब यास दगा करावा या मसलतीने कटार चालविली. ते समई मुशाफरजंग यास कैद करून डोचके मारविले.^२ त्याचे लोक पळोन गेले. पुढे स्वारी चालती जाली. दिलीस गेले.^३ तिकडे आब्दुल अली गिलज्या यासी पानपतावर पौष शुभा ८ शके १६८२ [१४ जानेवारी १७६१] लढाई जाहली. तेथें विश्वासराव पडले.^४ फौजे शिखस्त जाली. फार नाश जाला. भाऊसाहेब अंबारीत होते घोड्यावर बसले इतके सर्वांनी पाहिले. पुढें ठिकाण नाही.^५

१ बाळाजी बाजीराव पर्वतीस जेष्ठ वा ६ शके १६८३ मंगळवारी [२३ जून १७६१] आवसीचे प्रहर रात्रीस कैलासवासी जाले. त्याचे पुत्र माधवराव बलाळ यासी रघुनाथ बाजीराव याणी साताऱ्यास तारा आऊसाहेब याजकडून अषाढ वा ३ [२० जुलै १७६१] वस्त्रे व सिके देविले.^६ त्याजवर कार्तिक मासी निज्यामली बिन निजाम मुलुक याणी सला मोडिला [नोव्हेंबर १७६१] यामुळें श्रीमंत रघुनाथ बाजीराव चढाई करून गेले.^७ त्या लढाईचे प्रसंगांत निजाम अली उरली पावेतो जाळीत आला [८ डिसेंबर १७६१]. त्या मुकामी मोगलाकडील रामचंद्र माधवराव चंद्रसेनाचा पुत्र व मोगल अलीचा घाकटा भाऊ पेशवे याजकडे फुटून आले.^८ सवव मोगलाचा घर सुटून सला जाला.^९ तदनंतर कर्नाटकांत प्रधानपंताची स्वारी जाली.^{१०} दादासाहेब रसून पुण्यास आले.^{११} निलकंठराव माहादेव व सखाराम भगवंत कारभार सोडून घरी वसले. त्रिवकराव विश्वनाथ मामा कारभारी जाले शके १६८४.^{१२}

१ दादासाहेब माधवराव यांजवर रसून गेले.^{१३} आणि वीस हजार फौज दोन महिन्यांत जमा धरून माधवराव याजवर चढाई करून आले. त्यांचे व यांचे युद्ध जाले.^{१४} शके १६८५ कार्तिक वा ११ मुकाम नेवरे ताा कडें भीमपलीकडे माधवराव यांचा मोड जाला त्रिवकराव मामा व बाबुराव फडणीस व गोपाळराव मिरजकर पळून गेले. चुलत्या पुतण्याच्या भेटी कार्तिक वा १२ जाल्या. उभयेता येक जाले.^{१५} कारभार सखाराम भगवंत व निलकंठराव माहादेव करू लागले प्रधानपंताच्या व मोगलाच्या भेटी मुकाम पारगांव भिमातीरी जाल्या मोगल कूच करून भागानगराकडे गेला.

^१ नानासाहेब व भाऊसाहेब यांनी निजामावर चालून जाण्यासाठी (दिल्लीस जाण्यासाठी नव्हे) पुणे येथें गारपिरावर तारीख १ आक्टोबर १७५९ रोजी दसऱ्याच्या मुहुर्तावर डेरे दिले. ह्याच मुकामांत तारीख २८ आक्टोबर १७५९ रोजी मुझफरजंगाचा जांवई हैदरखान ह्यानें भाऊसाहेबांवर हत्यार चालविले.

^२ मुझफरजंग, त्याचा जांवई वगैरे ८ जणांना तोफेच्या तोंडी दिले (३० आक्टोबर १७५९).

^३ मुझफरजंगाच्या प्रसंगानंतर भाऊसाहेब निजामावर उद्गीर येथे चालून गेले आणि पडदूर येथे तारीख ७ मार्च १७६० ला नानासाहेबास भेटून तेथून दिल्लीस रवाना झाले. म. इ. सा. १ ले. १६८, पृ. २६३, २७१.

^४ विश्वासराव गोळी लागून मृत्यु. पु. द. १ ले. ४१७; म. इ. सा. ३ ले. ५१०.

^५ पु. द. १; ले. ४२५, पृ. ३१९; म. इ. सा. ६, ले. ४०६-४०९.

^६ माधवरावास प्रधानकीची वस्त्रे मिळाली. पु. द. ३, ले. १०५; म. इ. सा. ४, ले. १८०.

^७ राधोबादादा निजामावर चालून गेले. ऐ. ले. सं. १, ले. ४१.

^८ नगर ते पुणे पर्यंत पेशवे निजाम ह्यांत झोंबाझोंबी. ऐ. ले. सं. १, ले. ४३-४७.

^९ ह्या स्वारींत निजामानें हिंदूच्या पवित्र क्षेत्रांचा विध्वंस केल्यामुळे मराठी सरदारांचीं मनं प्रक्षुब्ध झाली. चंद्रसेनाचा पुत्र रामचंद्र जाधव यास सेनापतीपद देण्याचें कबूल करून पेशव्यांनीं त्याला आपल्या बाजूस ओढिले. पे. द. ३८, ले. ५५-६५.

^{१०} म. इ. सा. १०, ले. २ [५ जानेवारी १७६२].

^{११} माधवराव कर्नाटकांत स्वारीवर, फेब्रुवारी-एप्रिल १७६२. पु. द. ३, ले. १२.

^{१२} १९ मार्च १७६२ रोजी पुण्यास परत. ऐ. ले. सं. १, ले. ६३.

^{१३} २६ जून १७६२. इ. सं. इ. ले. ६६.

^{१४} दादा रसून पुण्याहून वडगांवास गेले. इ. सं. इ., ले. ६७; ऐ. ले. सं. १, ले. ६८, ६९.

^{१५} ७ नोव्हेंबर १७६२. पु. द. ३, ले. ७३; ऐ. ले. सं. १, ले. १०५.

^{१६} २९ नोव्हेंबर १७६२. ऐ. ले. सं. १, ले. ९४.

१ श्रीमंत दादासाहेब गोपाळराव मिरजकर मोगलाईत आहेत असे अकून आपण फौजेनिसी मिरजेस जाऊन मोर्चे लावून मिरज घेतला.^१ तदनंतर दादासाहेब फौजेसुद्धा मार्गशीर्ष शुभा १३ शके १६८५ साताऱ्यास येऊन महाराज रामराजे यास बाहेर काढून अधिकार दिले.^२

१ रामचंद्र जाधवराव यास सेनापतीची वस्त्रे दिली.^३

नारो शंकर यास प्रतिनिधीची वस्त्रे दादासाहेब याणी आपले चिरंजीव भास्करराव याच्या नावे दिली.^४

१ दादासाहेब याणी आपले चिरंजीव भास्करराव याचे नावे प्रतिनिधीची वस्त्रे देऊन नारो शंकर यास कारभार सांगितला.^५

१ विठल सिवदेव यास राजाज्ञाची वस्त्रे.

१ कान्होजी मोहिते यास सरलष्करची वस्त्रे.

४ एकूण च्यार पदे नवी जुन्याची काढून दिली वरकड ज्याची त्याजकडे राखिली. आणि मिरजेस गेले.^६

१ प्रतिनिधि पदाचा कारभार दादासाहेब याणी नारो शंकर यास सांगितला. म्हणोन पहिले पंत प्रतिनिधीचे कारभारी दमाजी व यमाजी जानोजी भोसले याजकडे जाऊन^७ त्याची पंचवीस हजार फौज घेऊन मोगलाकडे आले आणि पेशवे यांचा व मोगलाचा सला बिघडविला. मोगल दादासाहेब मिरजेस आहेत या बातमीने कूच करून मिरजेच्या रोखे दरकूच येऊ लागले.^८ हे वर्तमान दादासाहेब यास समजल्यावरून याणी ही कूच करून त्याजवर स्वारी करून औरंगाबादेच्या रोखे गेले तेथे जाऊन औरंगाबाद शहरापासून दोन लक्ष रुपये खंडणी घेऊन बऱ्हाड देशांत गेले.^९ पाठीमागे मोगल व भोसल्याची फौज व प्रतिनिधीकडील फौज पुण्यास येऊन पुणे जा(ळ)ले.^{१०} जेष्ठ शुभा ११ शके १६८५ मोगल माधारा धारूरास गेला. पुणे जाळल्याची खबर दादासाहेब यास बऱ्हाड देशांत समजली. त्यावरून मोगलासी गाठ घालावयास कूच केले. राक्षसभुवनावर याची व मोगल कडील फौजेची गाठ पडली. तेथे लढाई जाली ते समई मोगलाचे फौजेने दादासाहेब याचा हत्ती वेढला. खवासखान्यात देवजी नारायण सावरकर होते त्यास गोळी लागून ठार जाले. हे पाहून दादासाहेब याणी हत्ती पुढे चालविला. त्या समई माधवराव साहेब याणी हुजरांत घेऊन दादासाहेबाचा हत्ती वेढला होता तो सोडविला. दादासाहेब याणी पुढे चालून घेतले ते वेळेस विठल सुंदर यास गोळी लागून ठार जाला ते वेळेस मोगलांची फौज दाहा हजार लुटून घेतली. बाकीचे फौजेनिसी मोगल निजाम अली पळोन शहरास गेला.^{११} प्रधान पतांनी मोगल शहरात कोडून नऊ लक्षाची जाहागीर घेतली.^{१२} औरंगाबादेहून आश्विन अखेर श्रीमंत माधवराव साहेब पुण्यास आले. गांव जाळिला होता. त्याची आवादी करून दादासाहेबाचे विवारे रावसाहेब याणी गोपाळराव मिरजकर मोगलाईत होता त्यांची समजूत करून मिरज किला

^१ ऐ. ले. सं. १ ले, १४३; मिरज किल्ला पेशव्यांचे हस्तगत झाला. ३१ जानेवारी १७६३. पे. द. २७, ले. १४.

^२ ऐ. ले. सं. १, ले. १३७, १३८.

^३ पे. द. ३८, ले. ५५, ५७.

^४ भा. श., पृ. ४८.

^५ किता.

^६ ऐ. ले. सं. १, ले. १४३.

^७ पे. द. ३८, ले. ७९.

^८ ऐ. ले. सं. १, ले. १८३.

^९ पेशव्यांनी (राधोबादादांनी नव्हे) औरंगाबादचे पुरे जाळून. २ लक्ष रुपये खंडणी घेतली. ऐ. ले. सं. १, पृ. ३२५; भा. श., पृ. ४७.

^{१०} ऐ. ले. सं. १, ले. २५९-२७८.

^{११} ऐ. ले. सं. २, ले. ३३५.

^{१२} उद्गीरच्या तहांतला साठ लक्षांचा मुलूख व नवीन २२ लक्षांचा असा एकंदर ८२ लक्षांवर तह कायम झाला. ऐ. ले. सं. २, ले. ३६६.

त्यास द्यावा असें ठरऊन पुण्यास आणून मिरज किला हवाली केला.^१ पुढे पौष मासी कर्नाटक प्रांती स्वारीस गेले तिकडे हैदर नाईक यांची लढाई वैशाख शुभा २ शके १६८६ लागली यामुळे छावणी करून भाद्रपद मासी येऊन धारवाड घेतले. फिरोन हैदराची गाठ घातली तेव्हां लढाई होऊन बिदनुराकडे हैदर नाईक पळोन झाडीत गेला.^२ श्रीमंताची स्वारी कर्नाटकांत सिरें मदगिरीहून हैदराकडील कोटे घेऊन आणखी ठाणी घेऊन पुण्यास आले.^३ शके १६८९. पुढे आषाढ मासी गोहोजेचे स्वारीहून दादासाहेब आले. रावसाहेब जाऊन भेट घेतली. पुढे कलह वाढला. तेव्हां दादासाहेब आनंदवल्लीकडे गेले. धोडपेचा किला घेतला. शके १६९०, पुढे जेष्ठ मासी माधवराव साहेब जाऊन धोडप किल्याखाली लढाई जाली.^४ चितो विठल जोसी सापडले.^५ फौज लुटली पळाली. दादासाहेब किल्याखाली येऊन भेटां जाल्या.^६ आषाढ मासी पुण्यास उभयता आलेनंतर गंगोबा तात्या होळकराकडील हे झोडपच्या [धोडपच्या] फितुरास होते.^७ सबब पारपत्य केले, छतीस लक्ष रुपये गुनेगारी घेतली.^८

१ भाद्रपद मास शके १६९२ श्रीमंत माधवराव साहेब याणी कर्नाटक प्रांती स्वारी केली. हैदर नाईक यासी बिवाड जाहला. वैशाख मासपर्यंत स्वारी कर्नाटकात होती. पुढे त्रिबकराव मामायास फौज सुद्धां तेथे उवून खासा स्वारी पंचवीस हजार फौजेनिशी नागपूरकर भोसले याचा घर कलह लागला होता. सबब मुधोजी भोसले याचे पत्र आल्यावरून नागपूरकडे स्वारी गेली. जानोजी भोसले यास गंगातीरी लुटले. परंतु त्याणी तोंड न देता निर्मळच्या रोखे गेले.^९ श्रीमंत फौज सुद्धां पाठीवर गेले. गाठ पडू दिली नाही. जानोजी भोसले यांची पत्रे परभारे पुण्यास दादासाहेब याजकडे व बाबूराव फडणीस याजकडे आली व रावसाहेब यांचेही पत्र बाबूराव फडणीस यास आले होते. त्यात हासील शरिरी समाधान नाही आणि शहास तो गुंतलो यास कसे करावे मजकुराचे आल्यावरून फडणीस याणी सखाराम बापू यास बोलाऊन आणून विचारले. कीं, दोहीकडील पत्रें समेट होणेच्या भावाची आली आहेत. यास कसे करावे, त्यावरून बापू याणी सांगितले कीं, श्रीमंत दादासाहेब यांचे पत्र भोसल्यास समेट करून घेणेविशीचे ध्यावे आणि आपणही त्या अन्वयेच लिहून समेट करवावा असा सला दिल्या आणि आपण दादासाहेब वाड्यांत होते. त्याचकडे जाऊन विनंती करून भोसले यास पत्र समेटावींसीचे घेऊन फडणीस याजपास दिले. त्याप्रमाणेच फडणीस याणीही आपले नावे पत्र भोसले यास लिहून अशी दोनी पत्रें जानोजी भोसले याजकडे पाठविली. त्यांत तुम्हीं साडे पांच हजार फौजेनिशी श्रीमंताची भेट घ्यावी. इकडूनही श्रीमंतास विनंती पत्र लिहिले आहे. भेटीस दिकत पडणार नाही या प्रमाणें पाठविल्यावरून भोसले पुढे पळत होते ते पांच हजार फौजेनिशी मुकाम करून राहिले. मागाहून श्रीमंताची स्वारी गेली. तिकडून भोसले याजकडीलही वकील बोलण्यास आले. समेट जाहला.^{१०} भोसले यास वस्त्रे जवाहीर द्यावयाचे त्याची तरतूद पुण्याहून बाबूराव फडणीस याणी करून

^१ ऐ. ले. सं. २, ले. ३४७ (जून १७६२).

^२ ऐ. ले. सं. २, ले. ४३०.

^३ मा. रो. २, पृ. ४२१.

^४ पे. द. १९, ले. ९२.

^५ किता.

^६ किता.

^७ पे. द. १९, ले. ९१.

^८ ३० लक्ष गुन्हेगारी घेतली. म. इ. सा. ६, ले. ५७०.

^९ पे. द. ३७, ले. २१०.

^{१०} किता २०, ले. १७७

^{११} किता २०, ले. २७२ ते २८०.

लस्करांत पोहचते केले. भोसले यास मेजवानी करून वस्त्रे जवाहीर दिले. भोसले भेटी आल्यानंतर श्रीमंतास मेजवानी करतील. समयास वस्त्रे जवाहीर त्याजपासीं नसेल हे बाबूराव फडणीस यांनी समजूनच श्रीमंतांकडे वस्त्रे जवाहीर पाठविले होते. आणि विनंती पत्र लिहिले त्यात भोसले याजकडून मेजवानीची वस्त्रे जवाहीर मागावयास वकील आले असता घावे असे लिहिले त्याप्रमाणेच त्याजकडील वकील मागावयास आले. त्याणीं मागितल्याप्रमाणे जवाहीर वगैरे श्रीमंतांनी तसलमातीस देविले. मेजवानी भोसले याणीं करून वस्त्रे जवाहीर दिले. खं(ड)-णीचा ठराव होणे त्याचे कसे म्हणोन भोसलेकडील वकील आले त्यास उत्तर श्रीमंतांनी सांगितले कीं, पुणे मुकामी दादासाहेब आहेत व बाबूराव फडणीसही आहेत. त्यास तुमचे बोलणे काय असेल ते त्याजपासीं पुण्यांत बोलावे असे सांगून भोसले यास निरोप दिल्या. ते नागपुराकडे गेले. स्वारीबरोबर रामचंद्र गणेश व विसाजीं कृष्ण बिनवाले होते.^१ त्यास पंचवीस हजार फौज देऊन माळव्यांत खेचीवाड्याकडे रवाना केले. आणि आपण शरिरी समाधान नाही म्हणोन पुण्यास यावयाकरितां कूच करून गंगातीरी कटोच्यास मुकामास आले. तेथें सोन्याची तुळा करून पुण्यास स्वारी आली.^२ मोतीबागेत मुकाम केला आणि रामशास्त्री व बाळकृष्ण शास्त्री व शेशाद्रीशास्त्री व व्यंकटराम शास्त्री सुरापुरकर व दादा शास्त्री लिमये व गोपीनाथ दीक्षित वोक व भिक जोशी पंचनदीकर प्रभृती शिष्ट ब्राम्हण बोलावून आणून विचारले कीं, शरिरी समाधान नाही यास आरोग्यार्थ उपाय काय करावा असे विचारले. त्यावरून त्याणीं विचार करून सांगितले कीं गार्ड्री पुरस्चरण येक व सूर्यास अर्घ्य प्रदान चोवीस लक्ष व नमस्कार तिच्या कल्पविधानानेंच चोवीस लक्ष करावेत व तत्सांगता लक्ष ब्राम्हण भोजन करावे. ईश्वर आरोग्य करील त्याजवरून त्यांनी सांगितल्या प्रो अनुष्ठान चालीस लाविले व ब्राम्हण भोजनही सरकार वाड्यांत चालीस लाविले. दररोज सहस्त्र भोजन अर्धरुपाया दक्षणा ब्राम्हणास क्षीर खातील तितकी असा वेत करविला. नंतर शिष्ट ब्राम्हण याणीं येकांती विनंती केली कीं, श्रीमंत दादासाहेब कैदेत आहेत. त्याचीं मौकलिक करून त्याचाही आशिर्वाद घ्यावा. असें सांगितल्याप्रो रुकार देऊन स्वारी थेंऊरास गेली. तेथे श्री गणपतीची महापूजा करून लक्ष रुपयाचा येक हिरा समर्पण केला. नंतर दादासाहेब यांस भेटीस येणेविशीं पत्र पाठविले. त्यावरून दादासाहेब यांची स्वारी पर्वतीस व पाषाणास जाऊन सायंकाळी स्वारी पुण्यांत वाड्यात आली.^३ दुसरे दिवसी थेंऊरास स्वारी आली. तेथे म्हातारीचे डांहावर मुकाम करून राहिले. दुसरे दिवसी रावसाहेबांचे समाचारास आले. तेथे उभयतांचीं वोलणीं जालीं. त्यांत भाव रावसाहेब याचे म्हणे पडले कीं, मी व नारायणराव उभयतां असता आपण अमृतराव दत्त घेतले त्यास आम्ही उभयतांनी काय करावे व त्याणीं काय करावे याची आज्ञा व्हावी. त्याजवरून दादासाहेब याणीं सांगितले कीं अमृतराव यास सात लक्षाची जाहागीर देऊन दौलतीस अधिकार नाही असें मी लिहून देतो. व मलाही बारा लक्षाची जाहागीर नेमून घावी म्हणजे मीही दौलतीस अधिकार नाही असे लिहून देतो. या प्रो माधवराव साहेब याणीं मान्य करून बोलल्या प्रो. कराराची याद करून दादासाहेब यास दिली. नंतर दुसरे दिवसी रावसाहेब याणीं दादासाहेब यास विनंती केली कीं, दौलतीचे बंदोबस्त बहुत करून जाहले. परंतु सावकारी देण्याची तोड निघाली नाही. एवढा हेतू राहिला चिरंजीव नारायणराव लहान पुढे कसे करावे. त्यावरून दादासाहेब याणीं सांगितले कीं, सावकारी देणे तरी आहे किती त्यावरून रावसाहेब याणीं मुख जबाबी सांगितले कीं असेी पंचायेसी लक्ष रुपये अजमासे देणे निघेल त्यावरून दादासाहेब याणीं सांगितले पन्नास लक्षाच्या वराता अगाव रुदेच्या ऐवजी वगैरे मामलेदार याजकडे घाव्या. बाकी भरतीस तीस चाळीस लक्ष जे लागतील ते मी आपले खासगी पो देवितो काळजी करू नये. त्याप्रमाणे सावकाराचे हिसेब करविले. पन्नास लक्षापर्यंत मामलेदार याजवर वराता देविल्या. त्याप्रो मामलेदार याणीं वराता धरून जामदार खान्यास येवज जमा केला. नंतर सावकार याजकडून हिसेब आणऊन तोडी पाडल्या. त्यांत पाऊण कोटपर्यंत देणे निघाले त्याचा फडशा दादासाहेब याणीं पंचवीस लक्ष रुपये खासगी पैकी देऊन केला. खते सोडऊन आणविली.

^१ पे. द. (New Series) ३, ले. १५४.

^२ पे. द. १९, ले. १०८

^३ ऐ. ले. सं. ४, ले. १२१२

सावकारी देणे नाही असें करून खतें परत घेतलेली रावसाहेब यांजपासी दिली. रावसाहेब संतोष जाहले. दिवसेंदिवस प्रकृत क्षीण होत चालली. तेव्हां नारायणरावसाहेब याचा हात दादासाहेब याच्या हातांत घालून याचा सांभाळ करावा हरयेकविसी दौलतीचा बंदोबस्त करणे तो आपणच वडीलपणे केला पाहिजे असी विनंती केली.^१ त्यावरून दादासाहेब याणी सांगितले कीं काळजी किमपी करू नये. याप्रमाणे जाहाले. पुढें कार्तिक वा ८ शके १६९४ [१८ नोव्हेंबर १७७२] देवआज्ञा जाहली.^२ सौवती रमाबाईसाहेब सहगमन गेली. नारायणरावसाहेब याजकडून उत्तरकार्य करून स्वारी पुण्यास आली.^३ नंतर दादासाहेब नारायणराव यास घेऊन साताऱ्यास आले मार्गसीर्ष वा ४ रामराजे छत्रपति माहाराज याजकडून वस्त्रे देविली. नंतर आपण परभारे दादासाहेब अमृतराव याचे लग्नास टोक्यास गेले.^४ तेथे धोंडभट बिबलकर यांची कन्या पाहून विवाह करविला. नारायणराव यांची स्वारी साताऱ्यास होती. ते पुण्यास येऊन मातुश्रीचे भेटास गंगपुरी नाशकास गेले.^५ भेटी जाल्या ते समई नारायणराव याणी मातुश्रीस विनंती केली कीं, पुण्यास चलावे, ते समई त्याचे बोलणे पडले कीं, माझे सांगणे कैलासवासी बाळांने ऐकिले नाहीं तसेच तुलाही करावयाचे असल्यास मी येत नाही. त्यावरून नारायणराव यांनी विनंती केली कीं जसी आज्ञा होईल. त्यास मी मान्य. त्यावरून बाईनी सांगितले तुम्ही पुण्यास जाऊन दादासाहेब यास पहिल्या प्राा कैद करून लिहून पाठवावे म्हणजे मी येईन.^६ असे सांगितले त्या प्राा शफत पुरस्सर पुण्यास जाताच आधी हे काम करून आपणास लिहितो असे कबूल करून पुण्यास आषाढ मासी आले. इतक्यांत दादासाहेबही टोक्यास लग्न करून पुण्यास आले. पुढे श्रावण मासचा व गणपतीचा उळाह सालाबाद प्राा जाहला. नारायणराव याणी दादासाहेब यास कैद करावे या उद्योगांत चौकी पाहारे फिताऊन त्याच्या हातून कैद करावे असा बेत केला. हे वर्तमान दादासाहेब यास तुळाजी पवार खिजमतगार नारायणराव यांचा याणे व खरकसिंग सुमरसिंग या तिघांनी सांगितले त्यावरून दादासाहेब याणी तिघाजणास, पालखी पागा देतो नित्यानित्य वर्तमान काय होईल ते मला कळवीत जाणे असी आज्ञा केली.^७ त्याप्रमाणे हे त्रिवर्ग जाले वर्तमान कळवीत गेले. दादासाहेबही बंदोबस्तीचे उद्योगांत लागून नारायणराव यास कैद करावे या मसलतीने दोन हजार गारदी हजिरीच्या निमित्ताने दिली दरवाज्याने अनंत चतुर्दशीचे दिवसी दोन प्रहर दिवसास आणिले. त्या दिवसी नारायणरावसाहेब पर्वतीस दर्शनास प्रातःकाली गेले होते. तेथेंच भोजनास राहिले. भोजनोत्तर स्वारी वाड्यांत येण्याचा बेत होऊ लागला. त्यावरून हरीपंत तात्या फडके याणी विनंती केली कीं आताच स्वारी वाड्यांत जाऊ नये तिसरे प्रहरी जाता येईल. ते समई नारायणराव याणी पुसले कीं आता न जाण्याचे कारण काय? त्यावरून तात्या याणी विनंती केली कीं सुचलेला मजकुराचे विनंती केली. कारण सांगता न ये ते समई तात्या यांचे जावई बाबाजी ववें जवळ होते. त्याणी विनंती केली कीं तात्या काय सांगतात? आपण काय ऐकावयाचे, स्वारी तयारी जाल्याप्रमाणे वाड्यांत चलावे. ते ऐकून स्वारी वाड्यांत आली. बरोबर हरीपंत तात्या व ईछारामपंत ढेरे हुजूर पागे वगैरे पाच च्यारशे स्वार व पायदळ सुद्धा स्वारी वाड्यांत दाखल जाहली हरीपंत तात्या घरी जाण्याचा निरोप घेऊन गणेश दरवाज्याने बाहेर गेले. तो पाठीमागे हजिरी करितां दोन हजार गारदी दिली दरवाज्याने आंत आले होते. त्याप्री शे दोनशे लोक थोरले बाजीराव साहेब यांचे दिवाणखान्यातून श्रीगणपती महालाच्या दरवाज्याजवळून मेघडंबरी बंगल्याचे दरवाज्यातून आंत नारायणरावसाहेब यांच्या दिवाणखान्यापुढें गाई बांधतात तेथे आले.

^१ पेशव्यांची बखर (देशमुख प्रकाशन १९६३), पृ. ६४.

^२ ऐ. ले. सं. ४, ले. १२२९.

^३ किता, ले. १२३०; Mostyn, p. 33.

^४ पे. द. १९, ले. १०; भा. श. पृ. ५९—अमृतरावांचे लग्न आनंदवल्ली येथे झाले (मे १७७२), बाळकृष्ण भट पटवर्धन यांची कन्या—वधू. ह्यावेळी माधवराव पेशवे हयात होते.

^५ ऐ. ले. सं. ४, ले. १२५१.

^६ Forrest, *Maratha Series*, Volume I, Part II, p. 250.

^७ हरीवंशाची बखर, पृ. १.

^८ Mostyn, p. 199.

देवघरच्या रंगमहालाचा दरवाजा बंद करून तेथें नारायणराव यास कैद करावे अशा बेतात होते इतक्यांत रावसाहेब हुशार होऊन बाहेर रंगमहालाच्या दरवाज्यातून निघोन उजव्या हातच्या बोळाने सात खणीतून पार्वतीबाई याजकडे गेले. तेव्हां इछारामपंत ढेरे श्रीमंतांच्या व गारद्याच्या मध्ये आले. तेथे त्याजवर वार केला. ते गाईच्या आश्रास जाहाले. तेथेही दुसरा वार इछारामपंत याजवर केला होता. गाईस लागून यास लागला. गाई मेली. इछारामपंत याणीही येक येक दोन गारद्यावर वार करून जखमी केली. इछारामपंत याचे हातची तरवार पडोन जेर होऊन पडले. गारद्याच्या मते रावसाहेब देवघराकडे गेले अशा समजूतीत येऊन गारदी तिकडे गेले. तेथें देवघरांत नारोबा फाटक गवई बसला होता तो भयाभीत होऊन पळू लागला. हे पाहून हेच रावसाहेब असे समजून त्यास पाठीमागून वार करून ठार मारिला. पाहातात तो रावसाहेब नव्हेत. मग ते गारदी तसेच दरवाज्यातून थोरल्या पाण्याच्या हाँदाच्या चौकात आले. रावसाहेब पार्वतीबाईकडे गेले होते. त्याच्या पिछास तुळाजी पवार व खरकसिंग व सुमरसिंग असे तिघे गेले. रावसाहेब याणी पार्वतीबाईस म्हटले कीं मला हे मारतात मी काय करूं तेव्हां बाईनी सांगितलें कीं तुम्ही दादासाहेब याजकडे जावे त्यावरून तसेच दादासाहेब दिवाणखान्यांत निजले होते तेथे आले. तो दरवाज्यांत गणेश गोविंद बारगीर व हजरी चौकीदार होता त्याणी आंत जाऊन विनंती केली कीं रावसाहेब बाहेर आले आहेत आत येणार त्यास काय आज्ञा? त्यावरून आत येऊ द्या असे सांगितले. रावसाहेब आत येऊन सांगितले कीं मला मारावयाकरितां तिघे जण पाठीमागे आले आहेत त्यावरून दादासाहेब याणी सांगितले कीं, तू येथेच राहा मी बाहेर जाऊन बंदोबस्त करितो असें सांगून उठावयास लागले तो रावसाहेब याणी कमरेस मिठी घातली आणि म्हणो लागले कीं मला सोडून जाऊ नये. इतक्यांत तुळाजी पवार वगैरे तीन आसामी आंत आले आणि नारायणराव यांचे पाठीमागे होऊन पाय ओढू लागले. तुळाजी पवार वार करावयास आला. त्यास दादासाहेब याणी उजवा हात पुढे केला. तो तरवारेचा वार याच्या हातास लागला. दुसरा वार खरकसिंग याणे केला तो दादासाहेब यांचे पागोट्याचे पेंच तुटून पुतळी कानापाठीमागे लागली. रक्तश्राव जाहूला. तुळाजी पवार याणे दुसरा वार केला तो नारायणराव यांचे कमरेवर लागला. आणि दादासाहेबास म्हणो लागला कीं नारायणराव यास सोडावे. नाहीपेक्षा दोघांसही ठार मारितो. हे ऐकून गोविंद गणेश बारगीर याणे येऊन दादासाहेबाचे कमरेची मिठी सोडविली तेव्हां सुमरसिंग याणे वार केला तो नारायणराव याचे कुसीस लागून ठार जाहूले. हे कचे वर्तमान दादासाहेब याजपासी नाटकशाळा हेमंत व उमेदा अशा दोघीजणी जवळ होत्या त्याणी सांगितले. नंतर दादासाहेब यास तिघानी हाती धरून थोरल्या पाण्याच्या चौकातून फडावर चाफेखणांत आणून बसविले. हरीपंत तात्या घरी जावयास निरोप घेऊन गेले होते. ते तपकिरी आळीपर्यंत आले. इतक्यांत वाड्यांत गलबल जाहूली हे समजले. त्यावरून माघारे फिरोन कोतवाल चावडीपासी आले. नाना फडणीस व सखाराम बापू व भिवराव पानसे तोफखाने व भवानराव प्रतिनिधी नारो आपाजी वगैरे जमा होऊन विचार केला कीं सिड्या लाऊन वाड्यावर हला करावा. हराम लोक जागा जागा चौकीस होते. तेही आणविले तो वाड्यातील बातमी आले कीं दादासाहेब व नारायणराव साहेब उभयताही मारले गेले. तेव्हा हल्याचा बेत राहिला. इतक्यांत दुसरी बातमी आली कीं नारायणराव ठार जाले व दादासाहेब यास जखमा लागल्या. तेव्हां शहरची नाकेबंदी करविली आणि विचार केला कीं वाड्यात कोणास पाठवावे तो भवान प्रतिनिधीही तेथेच होते, त्याणी सांगितले कीं मी जातो हे सर्वांच्या विचारास येऊन प्रतिनिधी दीडशे लोकानिशी दिली दरवाज्यापर्यंत आले. आत जावे तर दरवाजा बंद तेव्हां भवानराव याणी प्रताप मिर्धा चोपदार दरवाज्यावर होता. त्यास बोलाऊन सांगितले कीं मी आत येणार असे दादासाहेब यास कळीव. त्यावरून त्याणे जाऊन विनंती केली. येऊ द्या अशी आज्ञाही जाली परंतु ते वेळेस जमातदार होते. त्याणी आड घातला कीं जमेतिनिशी येण्याचे कारण नाही येणे असल्यास सडे यावे. त्याप्रमाणे मिर्धा याणे प्रतिनिधी यास सांगितले. त्या प्रमाणे येक खिजमतगार घेऊन भवानराव दिंडीने आंत आले. आणि दादासाहेब चाफेखणांत गारद्यांनी बसवले होते तेथे येऊन बसले. दादासाहेब श्री जाहाले. प्रतिनिधी याणी समाधान करून विनंती केली कीं माझे लोक शे दीडशे बाहेर आहेत. त्यास आत घ्यावयाची आज्ञा व्हावी. त्याप्रमाणे आज्ञा जाहाली. परंतु गारद्याचे जमातदार खरकसिंग व तुळाजी पवार व सुमरसिंग वगैरे यांचे बोलणे पडले कीं आम्ही मारले जाऊ त्यास आमचा नेकीबंदीचा

जिमा व गारद्याचे तळबेचा फडशा आपण करीत असल्यास जिमा ध्यावा. नंतर आपले लोक आत आणवावे. त्यावरून प्रतिनिधी याणी ते बोलल्याप्रमाणे जिमा घेऊन हातावर हात मारून खातरजमा केली आणि आपले लोक आत घेतले. ते लोक जेथे दादासाहेब व प्रतिनिधी बसले होते तेथे आले ते येताच भवानराव याणी सांगितले की भले लोकास ताजीम द्यावी त्यावरून दादासाहेब याणी ताजीम देताच प्रतिनिधीचे लोक समीप घेरा देऊन बसले. गारदी त्याचे माघे राहिले. पाव घटका सुमार तसेच बसले. नंतर भवानराव याणी सांगितले की कांहीं बोलावयाचे आहे आपण चलावे असे बोलून दादासाहेबांचा हात धरून भाऊसाहेब यांचे दिवाणखान्यांत हजारी कारंज्याच्या पूर्वेच्या दिवाणखान्यांत गेले. मागाहून प्रतिनिधी यांचे लोक येत होते. त्याच्या चौक्या जिन्यांतून बसऊन तेथपर्यंत गेले. गारदी खालच्या खाली राहिले. जाला मजकूर प्रतिनिधी याणी लिहून कोतवाल चावडीत मुछदी मंडळी बसली होती त्याजकडे पाठविला.^१ त्यांत हासील कोणास तरी इकडे वाड्यात पाठवावे. त्यावरून सर्वांनी विचार करून त्रिबकराव मामा यास पाठविले. ते येऊन दादासाहेब यास निषेध केले. दादासाहेब याणी उत्तर केले की होणारास उपाय नाही. आतां तुम्ही आत जाऊन पुढील विचार पहावा. असे सांगितल्यावरून पार्वतीबाईपासी आले तेथे ताई साठी गंगा-बाईची मातुश्री सगुणाबाई वगैरे बायका होत्या. पार्वतीबाई याणी मामा यास सांगितले की पुढील विधी काय करणे तो करावा असे सांगितले. त्यावरून मामा दादासाहेब यांच्या दिवाण-खान्यांत नारायणराव पडले होते तेथे येऊन वाकनिसास बोलाऊन आणिले आणि सांगितले की इछारामपंत यास अद्यापि प्राण आहे त्यास त्याचे घरी पोचते करावे व नारोवा फाटक याचे प्रेत बाहेर नेऊन दहन करवावे असे सांगून आपण नारायणराव यांचे प्रेत बाहेर काढून दिली दरवाज्याने निघाले. ते वेळेस सायंकालचा घटका दीड घटका दिवस होता. मुछदी मंडळी वगैरे सर्वांस भवानराव प्रतिनिधी याणी सांगून पाठविले हीं श्रीमंताचे प्रेत बाहेर निघाले आपण परभारे ओंकारेश्वरापासी जाऊन दहन करवावे व खासगीवाले याजकडून चंदन तुळसीकाष्ठे प्रतिनिधी याणी पाठविली. सर्वत्र मंडळी तेथे जाऊन प्रायश्चित्त संस्कार करून मंत्रांनी त्रिबकरावमामा याजकडून देविली. दहन करून चौदा घटिका रात्री आपआपल्या घरी सर्वत्र गेले.^२ नारो आपाजी याणी शहरची नाकेबंदी करून बंदोबस्त केला. व भवानराव प्रतिनिधी यांनी दुसरे दिवसी प्रातःकाली वाड्यांत दोन हजार गाडदी होते ते बाहेर काढून आपल्या वाड्यांत नेले.^३ आणि हशमाकडील लोक आणऊन सरकार वाड्यांत चौकी पाहण्याचा बंदोबस्त पूर्ववत्प्रो करविला. नंतर दादासाहेब व प्रतिनिधी याणी वाकनिसास बोलाऊन आणऊन सांगितले की पुढील उत्तरकायचे कसे करावयाचे हे पार्वतीबाई यास विचारून येणे. त्या वरून वाकनीस याणी बाईस विनंती केली. त्याणी आज्ञा केली की गंगाबाईस पाळीवर कांहीं दिवस गेले आहेत.^४ त्यास इकडील विधी तूर्त करावयाचा नाही. तुम्हाकडील विधी चालीस लावावा. त्या प्रो वाकनीस याणी दादासाहेब यास विनंती केली त्यावरून रामशास्त्री प्रमुख शास्त्री मंडळीस बोलाऊन आणऊन विचारले की पुढील कर्तव्य कसे ते सांगावे त्यावरून त्याणी विनंती केली की महत्पातके जाली आहेत याचा विचार करून सांगता येईल. आजपासून क्रियेस प्रारंभ करावा असे सांगून ते निघोन गेले राजमाचीकर गोत्रज याजकडून कर्मास प्रारंभ करविला. नंतर प्रतिनिधीही आपल्या वाड्यांत गेले. आणि गाडदी याचा जिमा घेतला होता त्या प्रो तळबेचा यैवज वीस हजार रो राहिले होते ते त्यास देऊन शहराबाहेर काढून दिले. आणि खरगसिंग व समुरसिंग व तुळाजी पवार हुजच्या या तिघाजणास आपणापासी ठेऊन घेतले. तिसरे प्रहरी दादासाहेब याणी मुछदी मंडळी नाना फडणीस, सखाराम बापू प्रमुख व दरकदार यास बोलाऊन आणविले आणि सांगितले की ज्याचे काम त्याणे करावे. कोणविसी चितांत विकल्प आणू नये. असी आज्ञा केली. त्या प्रो सर्वत्र आपआपल्या कामास लागले. अकरावे दिवसी दानधर्म माहा दोन हत्ती इत्यादि करविली.

^१ नारायणरावाच्या वधाची सविस्तर हकिगत मुख्यतः खालील साधनांत सांपडते. ऐ. ले. सं. ४, ले. १२५७; ५, ले. १२६२, १२६३; म. द. (र. २), पृ. ९८-९९; इतिहास संग्रह, ऐतिहासिक चर्चा, प्रकरण २, पृ. ५-८.

^२ पेशवे बखर, पृ. ७१; म. द. (र. २), पृ. १०१.

^३ ऐ. ले. सं., ले. १२५७, १२६२.

^४ ऐ. ले. सं., ले. १२५९; म. द. (र. २), पृ. १०१.

तीन लक्ष रुपये अजमासे खर्च जाला. तेरावे दिवसी माशिक निवृत्ती जाली. नित्य उदकुंभ श्राध चालू जाले. तेच दिवसी तिसरे प्रहर शास्त्री पंडिताची सभा केली. त्यात निर्णय शास्त्री याही सांगितला की या दोषास देहांत प्रायश्चित्त खरे परंतु आपणास अनुताप जाला. यास्तव ब्रम्हांड दान केले असतां दोष परिहार होईल. त्यावरून दादासाहेब याणी सांगितले की योजना करावी. त्याजवरून शास्त्री याणी ब्रम्हांड दानांग भूमीदान व व्दादशाद्र प्रायश्चित्त व प्रत्यक्ष गोप्रदाने तीनशे साठ व लक्ष ब्राम्हण भोजन व सहस्र गोनिष्कय गोप्रदाने करावी असे सांगितले. त्यापोा श्रीमंतांनी भूमीदान दिले व प्रत्यक्ष गोप्रदाने तीनशे साठ व गोप्रदानास आलंकारार्थ दहा रुपये व दक्षणा येक मोहर व खिलार पोा गाय व सवळ येणे प्रोा केली व सहस्र गोनिष्कय व सहस्र मोहोरा दिल्या व लक्ष ब्राम्हण भोजन क्षिरीचे आर्घ्य रुपया दक्षणा येणे प्रोा केले आनु-वादक ब्राम्हण च्यार होते. त्यास दक्षणा दाहदाह हजार रुपये असे चाळीस हजार रुपये देऊन सांगता केली. पुढे दसऱ्याच्या मुहूर्ताने स्वारी बाहेर डेरे दाखल जाली. नंतर वाड्यांत आली आणि मानकरी भले लोक सर्वांस विडे वस्त्रे सालवाद नेमणुके प्रमाणे दिली.^१

१ निज्याम अलीवर स्वारी करावी असी मसलत सखाराम बापू प्रमुख मंडळी व सिंदे होळकर वगैरे सरदार मानकरी बोलाऊन आणऊन विचार केला. सर्वांचा स्कारही जाला. त्यावरून दसऱ्यास डेरे गारपिरावर दिले होते तेथे पंधरा दिवसांत लाख फौज जमा करून मुहूर्ताने स्वारी डेरे दाखल जाली. तेथे पंधरा मुकाम जाहाले. नंतर कूच करून कोरेगांवावर मुकामास गेले.^२ तेथे दोन मुकाम जाहाले. तेथून पुढे मजल दर मजल कासेगांव नजीक श्री पंढरी येथे स्वारी गेली.^३ तेथे आठ मुकाम केले. तोफखाना वगैरे सर्व तयारी जाहली. दोन लक्ष जमाव जाहला.^४ नंतर कूच करून किले परांड्यावर गेले. तिकडून तीस चाळीस हजार फौज आली व त्याजकडून वकील आले व श्रीमंताकडील कृष्णराव काळे तिकडे वकिलीस होते तेही त्याजबरोबर आले. तेथून कूच करून पुढे मजल दर मजल हैदरावर गेले. तेथे निजामकडील फौज लाख सवा लाख तोडावर आली. त्यानंतर मोगलाकडील वकिलास बोलाऊन आणविले आणि सांगितले की तुम्हाकडे सरदेशमुखीची बाकी येणे त्याचा फडशा करून द्यावा नाहीपेक्षा लढाईस तयार व्हावे. त्यावरून त्याजकडील वकील व इकडील कृष्णराव काळे मिळून हैदराबादेस गेले. तेथे जाऊन नबाबसाहेब यासी मजकूर सांगितला. नंतर त्याणी सखाराम बापू व नाना फडणीस व हुरीपंत तात्या याजकडे श्रीमंतास न कळावे अशा बेताने वकील पाठविले. त्यांत हासील दादा साहेब याणी सरदेशमुखीचे ऐवजाचा मुदा घालून लढाईची तयारी करविली यास कसे करावयाचे ते सांगाने. तेव्हां याणी सांगितले की येवज तुम्हाकडे बाकी येणे खरा. जी बाकी निघेल ती देणे प्राप्त परंतु या प्रसंगी लढाईचा प्रसंग घालू नये. जी आज्ञा होईल ती मान्य करून समेट करावा या प्राा सांगून वकील माघारे पाठविले. त्याजवरून निज्यामली याणी श्रीमंताकडे वकील पाठविले आणि कबूल केले की आपण सांगता या प्रमाणे सरदेशमुखीचा ऐवज जो निघेल तो देतो असे बोलणे आल्यावरून अडीच कोट रुपये निज्यामअली याणे द्यावे आणि भेटी व्हाव्या असे ठरविले. त्या प्रोा नबाब कबूल जाले. नंतर नबाब पंचवीस हजार फौजेनिसी बेदरावर भेटीस आले.^५ भेट नबाबाची घ्यावयाची परंतु नबाब याणी हात बांधोन यावे तर भेट होईल असी आज्ञा जाहली. त्यावरून तेही कबूल करून हात बांधून भेटीस आले.^६ भेटीकरितां गोटा बाहेर डेरा दिल्या तेथे उभयतांच्या भेटी जाल्या. ते समई नबाब रमालाने हात बांधून आले होते. ते श्रीमंतानी आपले हात रमाल सोडून भेट घेतली. नंतर विडे देऊन नबाबास डेऱ्यास जावयास

^१ ऐ. ले. सं. ५, ले. १२६१, पृ. २०३७, २०४४, २०९९.

^२ I. H. R. C. XX, p. 32.

^३ ऐ. ले. सं. ५, ले. १२७९, १२८१.

^४ श्रीमंतांनी फौजेचा अंदाज पहावा म्हणून खडी गणती घेतली. ती एकूण ४० हजार फौज आहे. ऐ. ले. सं. ५, ले. १२८८—मॉस्टीन म्हणतो साठ हजार सैन्य दारांपाशी होते. Mostyn, पृ. २६४.

^५ ऐ. ले. सं. ५, ले. १३०४.

^६ Mostyn, p. 292 ; ऐ. ल. सं. ५, ले. १३१८.

निरोप दिल्या. ते गेले व श्रीमंतही आपल्या डेऱ्यास आले. नबाब यांजकडे अडीच कोटी रुपये येणे त्याविसींची सखाराम बापू प्रमुख याणीं विनंती केली कीं नबाब हात बांधून सांगितल्या प्रो भेटीस आले. त्यापेक्षां रुपयावर दृष्ट देऊन एवज बक्षीस केल्यास लौकीक होईल. सरकारांत कोणेविसी कमी नाही येश मेलविलें येवढीच गोष्ट मोठी असीं विनंती केल्यावरून माफी करणेविसी आज्ञा जाहली आणि सांगितलें कीं दहा हजार फौजेनिशीं आम्हापासी चाकरी करावी त्या प्रो नबाब कबूल होऊन परस्पर मेजवात्या जाल्या. जड जवाहीर सांप्रदायाप्रमाणे देऊन नबाबास निरोप दिला.^१ ते कूच करून हैदराबादेस बाके फौजेसुद्धां गेले.^२ श्रीमंतही तेथून कूच करून माघारे फिरले. पराड्यानजीक मुकामास आले. तेथे विचार करून लाख फौज ठेऊन बाकीचे फौजेस निरोप दिल्या. आणि तेथेच मुकाम जाला. तदनंतर वामनराव बाबा पटवर्धन मिरजकर हे स्वारीबरोबर होतेच. याणीं सखाराम बापू यास गाठून विचारले कीं इतःपर दादासाहेबासीं गाठ त्यास पहिल्यापासून याचा आम्हावर रोष यास कसे करावे. आमचा बचाव कसा होईल त्यावरून बापू याणीं सांगितले कीं हा मजकूर हरीपंत तात्यासीं आपण बोलावा. ते आम्ही विचार करून सांगू चिंता करू नये असे सांगितल्यावरून त्यासींही वामनराव^३ बाबा बोलले नंतर सखाराम बापूची व तात्या(ची) गांठ पडली आणि तेथे बोलण्यांत आले कीं गंगाबाईस दत्त पुत्र देऊन नारायणराव याचा वंश चालवावयाचा त्यास येथें लस्करांत राहून घाट^४ जमणार नाही. तेव्हां तुम्हीं व आम्ही सर्वांनी काहीं निमित्ये काढून निरोप घेऊन पुण्यास जावे. तेथें गेल्यानंतर विचार करतां येईल असे ठरून सखाराम बापू याणीं चिरंजिवाचे मुंजीचे निमित्य करून निरोप घेऊन सासवडास आले.^५ नंतर नाना फडणीस याणीं आर्षाचा उपद्रव जाला हवाही सोसत नाही असीं विनंती करून निरोप घेऊन पुण्यास आले.^६ हरिपंत तात्या याणीं पोटसूळाचे मिस करून आठ च्यार दिवस हैराण जाल्यासारखे दाखऊन सिध्दटेकास श्रीगणपतीजवळ जातो असीं विनंती करून सिध्दटेकावरून पुण्यास आले. नंतर सखाराम बापू व नाना फडणीस व हरीपंत तात्या पार्वतीबाई याहीं वाड्यांत आले. आणि त्यास विचारिले कीं पुढे कसे करावयाचे ? बाईस महिने किती जाहाले यास दत्त पुत्र देऊन नाव चालवावे असे आमच्या मनातून आहे परंतु ते उद्योग आताच करावयाचा किंवा बाई प्रसूत होईपर्यंत वाट पहावी हे सांगावे. त्यावरून बाईनीं सांगितले कीं तूर्त दत्त-काचा उद्योग करावयाचा नाही प्रसूत जाल्यानंतर करावयास येईल हे सर्वांच्या मनास आले. त्यावरून त्रिवर्गानीं पार्वतीबाई यास विनंती केली कीं येथे राहून उपयोग नाही. पुरंदर किला जागा चांगली तेथें गंगाबाईस घेऊन आपण राहिले असतां ठीक पडेल. त्यावरून बाईनीं सांगितले कीं, तुम्हीं तयारी करावी आम्ही सिध्द आहो. याप्रमाणे बोलणे होऊन त्रिवर्गही बाहेर आले आणि स्वानगीच्या उद्योगास लागले.^७

१ लस्करांत दादासाहेब याजपासी आबाजी महादेव व चितो विठल वगैरे कारभारी होते त्याणीं श्रीमंतास विनंती केली कीं सखाराम बापू व नाना व हरीपंत तात्यास निरोप आपण दिल्या. पुढे काम कसे चालेल त्यावरून दादासाहेब याणीं सांगितले कीं तेही आरोग्य जाहले म्हणजे येतील. नंतर कोणीकडे स्वारी करावयाची तो बेत ठरवावयास येईल ते नच आल्यास चिंता काय आहे ? बटकीचे हातून काम केले जाईल ही बातमी पुण्यात त्रिवर्गास समजली. त्यानंतर दादासाहेब याच्या मनांत आले कीं पार्वतीबाई व गंगाबाई पुण्यांत वाड्यांत आहेत तेथें बंदोबस्तात

^१मोगलांनीं (निजामांनीं) निरोप समयीं कांहीं पोटास देणे म्हणून गौरवानें मागितल्यावरून फिरून तोच सरंजाम दादानीं निजामास दिला—ऐ. ले. सं. ५, ले. १३१८.

^२ऐ. ले. सं. ५, ले. १३२६.

^३वामनराव पटवर्धनास दादा आपल्या सर्व खलबतांत घेऊ लागला. ऐ. ले. सं. ५, पृ. २१००.

^४बारभाईचें कारस्थान स्वारींत शिजलें व सर्व सरदार पुण्यास आल्यानंतर कतीत उतरलें. पे. द. ५, ले. ४.

^५Mostyn, p. 305. Mostyn says “Morabah is soon expected in order to perform the ceremony of pulling on the Brahmines string on his son.”

^६Nana Phadnis came to town two days on 22nd January 1774. Mostyn, p. 304.

^७पुरंदर किल्यास सुखरूप पोचल्याचें धोंडो महादेव तारीख ६ फेब्रुवारी १७७४ ला लिहितो. पे. द. ५, ले. ९, २८.

आपल्याकडील लोक असाव असे आल्यावरून दीड हजार लोक देऊन राघोपंत बेहरे अपाजीपंत लिमय यास लस्करातून पाठविले. ते पुण्यास आले. त्याणी सरकारचे पत्र नारो अपाजीस होते ते दिले. तेव्हा नारो आपाजी याणी त्यास सांगितले कीं आज्ञेप्रो करावे. परंतु हली वाड्यांत लोक आहेत त्याचा तळबचा फडशा करावयाचा त्यास च्यार दिवसांत हजिरी घेऊन येवजाची तरतूद करून फडशा करितो आणि लोक बाहेर काढून तुमच्या हवाली वाडा करितो. बंदोबस्त करावा असे सांगितल्यावरून लोकसुद्धां परवतीपासी राहिले.

१ नारो अपाजी याणी हरीपंत तात्या यास बोलाऊन आणून सांगितले कीं तुम्ही विचार योजिला आहे त्याची जलदी करावी. तिकडून जे लोक आले आहेत त्यास च्यार दिवसांची मुदत सांगून परवतीपासी उतारावयास पाठविले आहेत असे सांगितले तात्यानींही लवकरच करितो असे सांगून गेले. नंतर तात्यानीं हा मजकूर सासवडास सखाराम बापू होते त्यांकडे लिहून पाठविला. त्याजवरून बापूनीं तरतूद करून लिहून पाठविले. त्याचा तपशील येकंदर आपणापासी पांच हजार स्वार व एक हजार गाडव आहे. या प्रो दीड हजार स्वार व हजार गाडव पाठविले आहे. त्यास येक हजार स्वार घोरपडे यांचे पेठेत ठेवावे व पांचशे स्वार नानाचे वाड्यापुढे ठेवावे व पागे पोा जनार्दन राम आठवले याजकडील तीनशे स्वार देऊन रवानगी करावी. मी हजार स्वारांनिशी बाबदेवाचे घाटात येतो. याप्रमाणे बापूनीं तात्यास लिहिले त्या प्रो सरंजामही आला. तात्या वाड्यांत जाऊन पार्वतीबाई यास जाला मजकूर निवेदन केला. त्याणी सांगितले कीं आम्हाकडून गुंता नाही तुम्ही सांगाल ते वेळेस सिद्ध आहे. त्याजवरून हरीपंत तात्या ताई साठी गंगाबाईची मातुश्री याजकडे गेले आणि त्यास मजकूर सांगितला. ते वेळेस ताई साठी याणी सांगितले कीं, गंगाबाईचे बाहेर येणे कसे होईल त्यावरून तात्यानीं सांगितले कीं, तुम्ही प्रकृति फार बिघडली असे मिस करावे उत्क्रांत धेनूपर्यंत आत्यावस्छा जाहली असे लौकिकात आणून धेनूही घांवी आणि वाड्यांत बाईकडे आंतकाली भेट व्हावी म्हणोन सांगून पाठवावे. म्हणजे बाई येथे येतील. नंतर जे कर्तव्य तें करावयास येईल असे सांगितले. त्या प्रो साठी बाई याणी मोडशी जाहली म्हणोन लौकिक करून उत्क्रांत धेनू दिल्ली आणि सांगून वाड्यांत पाठविले. त्यावरून पार्वतीबाई व सगुणाबाई व गंगाबाई अशा तिघीजणी श्रीगणपती दरवाज्याने पाय उतारा ताईचे भेटीस आल्या भेट घेतली व इतक्या कृत्यास च्यार घटका रात्र जाहली. भोईखान्यातून तीन पालख्या तात्यानीं आणविल्या. जनार्दन राम आठवले पागा तीनशे बारगीर व पाचशे सिलेदार सखाराम बापूकडील आले ते घेऊन नानाच्या दरवाज्यापुढे तयार उभे राहिले. नंतर ताई साठी याच्या मागील दरवाज्याने तिघी बाया निघून थत्ते याच्या मागील दिंडीने बाहेर येऊन पालखीत बसल्या आणि नानाच्या दरवाज्यापर्यंत आल्या. तेथे आठवले होते. त्याणी नगारचीस डंका वाजीव म्हणोन सांगितले. त्या प्रो डंका वाजविला. ते वेळेस नाना फडणीस आपल्या वाड्यांत दुमजल्यावर खिडकीत उभे होते त्याणी जनार्दन आठवले यास डंका वाजऊ नये असे सांगितले. ते वेळेस मारनिले याणी उत्तर केले कीं आता माझ्या विचारास येईल तसे करीन असे सांगून नमस्कार करून निघाले ते बुधवार रस्त्याने कोतवाल चावडीपुढून घोरपडे यांच्या पेठेत गेले. तेथे हजार स्वार होते ते घेऊन निघाले. बाबदेवाच्या घाटांत मध्यरात्रीस पोहोचले. तेथे सखाराम बापू हजार स्वारांनिशी तयार होते. त्यासह वर्तमान सासवडास बाया गेल्या तेथे बापू यांच्या घरी आंग धुऊन तुळसीस पाणी घालून तशाच पुढे चालत्या जाल्या. त्या च्यार पांच घटका दिवस येतो तो पुरंधर किल्याचे मार्चीस दाखल फौजसुधा जाल्या. आणि पूर्व संकेताप्रमाणे इशान्याच्या तोफा सोडविल्या. ते आवाज येकून नाना पुण्यात होते ते मेणवलीस गेले. हरीपंत तात्या पुण्यातच आपले घरी पोट दुखते म्हणोन राहिले. नारो आपाजी याणी परवतीवर दादासाहेब याजकडील लोक उतरविले होते त्याजकडील कारकुनास बोलाऊन आणविले आणि सांगितले कीं तुमचे लोक आणवावे. परंतु काल रात्री तिघी बाया निघोन गेल्या असे यैकितो. त्यास कसे करावे. श्रीमंताकडे येविसीचे विनंती लिहिले पाहिजे. तुम्हीही पत्र घ्यावे म्हणजे डाकेतून रवाना करतो. याप्रमाणे बोलून कारकुनाचे पत्र घऊन आपल्या लखोट्यांत घालून डाकेतून श्रीमंताकडे पाठविले. शहरात बाया निघोन गेल्या असे सर्वास समजले. नारो आपाजी यांचे पत्र दादासाहेब

याणी पाहून विचारांत पडले आणि नारो अपाजी यास लिहिले की, इकडून कारकून राधोपंत बहरे व आपाजी लिमय यास लोक देऊन बंदोबस्ताकरिता पाठविले होते त्यास लोक सुधा माघारे आम्हाकडे पाठऊन देणे नंतर कूच करून किले परांडानजीक मुकाम केला. आणि फौजेची हजिरी घेतली. पंचवीस तीसहजार फौज जवळ होती आणखी कुमकेस फौजे असावी म्हणोन निज्यामलीखा नवाब यास पत्र लिहिले की पेशजीच्या तहाप्रमाणे पंचवीस हजार फौज पाठऊन द्यावी येविसी जीवनराव केशव येवलेकर यास पाठविले आहेत ते पत्र पाहून नवाब याणी जीवनराव यास सांगितले की आम्हाकडून तयार आहे^१ असे सांगितले आणि गोविंदराव काळे नवाब याणी बोलाऊन नेवून सदरहू मजकूर सांगितला त्याप्रमाणे त्याणी पुरंधरास सखाराम बापू व नानाकडे लिहून पाठविले. त्याचे उत्तर बापू याणी दिले की नवाबसाहेब याणी फौज देतो असे सांगितले ते ठीकच. नाद असावा. इकडे दादासाहेब याणी आणखी दाहा पाच हजार फौज ठेऊन तेथून कूच करून भीमा तीरी आले. पुढे पुण्यास येणार ही बातमी पुरंधरास समजली. त्यावरून हुजरात मानकरी वगैरे फौज पंचवीस हजार देऊन त्रिबकराव व मामा व हरीपंत फडके यांस रवाना केले^२ नंतर त्याची व दादासाहेब याची लढाई भीमातीरी जाहली.^३ तेथे त्रिबकराव मामा यांचा मोड होऊन पाडाव गेले. येक दिवस होते. दुसरे दिवसी देवआज्ञा पावले.^४ तेव्हा फौजेचे मुखत्यार हरीपंत तात्या फडके होऊन फिरोन फौजेचा जमाव करून राहिले. नंतर दादासाहेब याणी पुण्याकडील रोख सोडून खानदेशाकडे निघाले.^५ त्याच्या पिछाडीस येक मजलेच्या अंतराने हरीपंत तात्या फौजसुद्धा दुमाल्यावर चालते जाहाले^६ बराणपूरचे^७ मुकामी दादासाहेब याणी आपल्या फौजेत फितूर आहे असी बातमी काढून सरदार वगैरे यास आज्ञा केली की आम्हाबरोबर ज्यास अकूत्रीमपणे येणे असेल त्याणी यावे नपेक्षा तिकडे जाणे असल्यास जावे. त्या वेळेस सर्वांनी सांगितले की आपले पाय सोडून जावयाचे नाही असे बोलणे होऊन विडे देऊन आपआपल्या डेन्यास पाठविले. दुसरे दिवसी कूच करून बराणपुरानजीक काळा चौथरा बुरुज आहे तेथे तापीच्या काठी मुकाम केला. तेथे पंचवीस हजार फौजेची हजेरी जाहली. बाकी दाहा हजार सुमार मागेच राहिली. ते वेळेस बाजीपंत आणा फडणीस यास दादासाहेब याणी बोलाऊन नेऊन विचारिले की फौजेत फितूर आहे असे तुम्हास समजले आसता आम्हास न सांगण्याचे कारण काय? त्यावरून त्याणी विनंती केली की फितूर आहे व हे मला ठाऊक नाही असे सांगितल्यावरून मारानिलेहो खोटे बोलतात सबब पाहान्यात बसविले आणि रामचंद्र नरसिंह तुळपुळे यास फडणिसीचे काम सांगितले नंतर नारोपंत भुसकुटे व लक्ष्मण अपाजी नातू याणी विनंती केली की बाजीपंत याजकडे फितूर प्रकर्ण नाही. शफत करतो, असे त्याचे बोलणे आहे. त्यावरून आज्ञा जाहली की साठ हजार रुपये गुनेगारी देऊन लस्करातून निघोन जावे. त्याप्रमाणे बाजीपंत कबूल होऊन नारोपंत भुसकुटे यांस खातरीस देऊन पाहान्यातून सुटून भुसकुटेचांकडे गेले. भुसकुटे याणी बरानपूर येथील सावकाराकडून साठ हजाराचा भरणा सरकारात करून दिल्या. बाजीपंत तेथून निघोन हरीपंत तात्या फौज सुधा पिछाडीस आहेत त्याजपासी आले पुढे तेथून निघोन दादासाहेब याणी कूच करून धुळकोटच्या घाटाने सातपुड्यातून ओंकार माघात्याकडे गेले आणि सौवती आनंदीबाई गरोदर होती त्यास येशवंतराव पवार धारकर याजपासी ठेऊन आपण तेथून मंडळेश्वरास आले.^८ आणि अहिल्याबाई होळकर यास सांगून पाठविले की आम्हास गुजराथेत जाणे आहे. त्यास तुम्हाकडील माहाल मध्ये आहेत

^१ पे. द. ५, ले. ३०.

^२ Mostyn, p. 337; ऐ. ले. सं. ५, ले. १३३२.

^३ लढाई कासेगांवी झाली, ता. २६ मार्च १७७४. हिचें वर्णन ऐ. ले. सं. ५, ले. १३४९; म. इ. सा. १०, ले. १३० यांत सविस्तर आहे. पे. द. ५, ले. ४३ पहाणे.

^४ हें चूक आहे. मामा जखमांनीं हैराण होऊन खडकतच्या मुकामी त्यास देवाज्ञा चैत्र वद्य ८ रविवारीं जाली (११ एप्रिल १७७४). म. इ. सा. १०, ले. १३०; पेठे २, पृ. १२६. मामा पकडला गेल्यावर ८ दिवसांनी मृत्यु पावला.

^५ पे. द. ५, ले. ४७.

^६ किता, ले. ४३.

^७ ऐ. ले. सं. ५, ले. १३६०.

^८ 'मजल दर मजल बडवईचे घाटे इंदुरास आले'. ऐ. ले. सं. ५, ले. १३६८, पृ. २१५७.

याजकरिता तुम्हाकडील कारकून फौजसुधा बरोबर असावे. त्यावरून बाई याणी भिलाचे जमादार व दोन हजार फौज देऊन आपले माहालाचा बऱ्याच करून हद्द पार करून दिली. पुढे दादासाहेब आलीमोहनच्या मुकामी गेले आणि तेथील रजवाड्यास बोलाऊन आणविले आणि सांगितले की तुमच्या मलकातून पलीकडे जावयाचे त्यास तुम्हाकडील बोळावा भील जमादार लोक सुधा बरोबर देणे त्यावरून त्याणेही आज्ञाप्रमाणे बोळावा देऊन हद्द पार करून दिली. ते पुढे राजपिपळ्याच्या संस्थानास गेले. तेथे त्या राज्यास बोलाऊन आणऊन सांगितले की आम्हास बडोद्यास जावयाचे आहे तुमची हद्द पार करून देणे त्यावरून त्याणे बरोबर भील वगैरे लोक देऊन आपली हद्द पार करून दिली. ते बडोदे मुकामी गेले. तेथे फर्तेसिंग गाईकवाड यास खर्चास पाहिजे म्हणोन दोन लक्षाची चिठी केली तेव्हा त्याणी चिठीप्रमाणे दोन लक्ष रुपये अंताजी नागेश याजबरोबर पाठविले. तेथून कूच करून आमदाबाजस आले^१ आणि माहालात ठाणी घातली किलाही घेतला. तेथील मामलेदार अपाजी गणेश वैद्य पळून गेले. माहाली पाच च्यार लक्ष रुपये वसूल घेतला आणि तेथून कर्णेळ किर्तिंग इंग्रजाकडील सरदार पांच पलटणानिसीकडे विरमगावावर छावणीस होता.^२ त्याजकडे लक्ष्मण अपाजी नातू यास पाठविले आणि तुम्हाकडील कुमक यावी त्यावरून त्याणे इष्टोर फाकडा यास येक पलटण देऊन पाठविला त्या सुधा कूच करून आनंदमोगरीवर मुकाम केला. दुमाल्यावर हरीपंत तात्या होतेच ते व गाईकवाड याजकडील फौज बरोबर घेऊन याची व दादासाहेब यांची लढाई जाहाली. तेथे दादासाहेब यांचा मोड जाहला. मालोजी राजे घोरपडे यास जखमा लागल्या. पलटणचेही शे दोनशे लोक पडले. याचे कारण दादासाहेब याजकडील फौज कोणती व त्याजकडील कोणती ही ओळख आम्ही कशी धरावी? त्यावरून हरीपंत भिडे हुजूरपागे दादासाहेब याजकडील पुढे पांच हजार फौजेनिसी तोंडावर होते. त्याणी सांगितले की ज्याच्या पागोट्यात झाडपाल्याचा तुरा असेल ते लोक आमचे ही खून. ही बातमी हरिपंत तात्यास समजली त्यावरून त्याणी आपलेकडील पांच हजार स्वार तुरे लाऊन पुढे तोंडावर पाठविले. ते वेळेस इष्टोर फाकडा याणे हरिपंतास पुसले की तुरे लावलेले लोक येतात हे कोणाचे तेव्हा हरीपंत बोलले की आपलेच आहेत.^३ त्यावरून त्याणे गोळा घातला नाही. यामुळे ते लोक येऊन पलटणचे लोक मारले गेले. यावरून हरीपंत फितुरी असे समजून त्यास इष्टोर फाकडा याणे जिवे मारला.^४ आपले लोकानिसी तयारी केली. मोड जाहला ते समई आबाजी महादेव वगैरे फौज दाहा बारा हजार कपटबंदास गेली व जवाहीरखाना व जामदारखाना त्याजबरोबर गेला. दादासाहेब दाहा पंधरा हजार फौजेनिसी खंबाईतास गेले. इष्टोर साहेब यास छावणीस जाणेचा निरोप दिल्हा. आमदाबाज माहाली ठाणी दादासाहेबाची उठऊन हरीपंत तात्या याणी घालून पूर्ववत प्रमाणे आपाजी गणेश यास सुभा सांगितला. खंबाईतास दादासाहेब यांनी पंधरा मुकाम केले. तेथे खंबाईताच्या नबाब याणे हरीपंत तात्याचा सला घेऊन दादासाहेब यास मेजवानीस किल्यात आणून कैद करावे अशी मसलत केली, ही बातमी दादासाहेब यांस समजली तेव्हा भावनगराहून चालीस गलबते भाड्याची करून खंबाईताच्या बंदरात आणविली^५ आणि नबाब यांस सांगून पाठविले की, मजवानीस येतो असा बेंत करून आपण काही पायदल जवाहीरखाना, जामदारखाना, नाटकशाळा, आमुतराव सुधा घेऊन गलबतात बसले आणि नबाब यास सांगून पाठविले की आमची फौज सरंजाम सर्व तुमच्या जिमेस आहे याची बरदास्त राखणे तसनस जाली असता जाबसाल करावा लागेल असे सांगून आपण गलबतातून भावनगरास गेले.^६ तेथे दोन मुकाम केले आणि तीच गलबते घेऊन सुरतेस आले^७ ते डोमसच्या^८ बंदरात उतरून मेस्तर बडम इंग्रजाकडील सुभा होता त्यास सांगून पाठविले की सरंजाम पाठऊन

^१ ऐ. ले. सं. ५, पृ. २१६८-६९.

^२ S. & P. D. D. No. 16, pp. 59-64.

^३ ऐ. ले. सं. ५, पृ. २२४४.

^४ किता, ले. १४६४.

^५ किता ले. १४४९.

^६ किता ले. १४४८; Gaikwads II, p. 243.

^७ ब. रा. द. ऐ. वे. २, ले. ५३; ऐ. ले. सं. ५, ले. १४४९.

^८ दुमास बंदर सुरतच्या जवळ अक्षांश २१°५ अंश, रे. ७२°४० अंश. दुमास बंदरांत ईस्ट इंडिया कंपनीच्या बोटीच्या संरक्षक गराड्यांत राधोबादादा होते. Gaikwads II. p. 244.

देणे. त्याजवरून त्याने लक्ष्मण कामत दुभाशा याजबरोबर सरंजाम देवे दांडेभाडी साहित्य सुधा पाठविला. तेथे आठ दिवस मुकाम होता. ते भेटीस मेस्तर बडम व सुरतेचा नबाब आले भेटी जाहल्या. नंतर याणि मोहमुदी^१ बागेत राहावे असे सांगून तेथे तरतूद केली. नंतर दादासाहेब याणि कूच करून बागेत येऊन राहिले आणि आबाजी म्हादेव यास लिहून पाठविले की तुम्ही व खबाईतास फौज सरंजाम आहे त्या सुधा निघोन सुरतेस येणे त्याप्रमाणे ते सुरतेस आले^२ च्यार महिने अजमासे सुरतेस राहून पुढे हरीपंत तात्या याजवर जावे म्हणोन तयारी करून बाहेर निघाले ते मांडवीच्या मुकामास आले. तेथे तात्याशी लढाई जाहली दादासाहेब यांचा मोड जाहला.^३ ते समई फत्तेसिंग गाईकवाड याजकडील अंताजी नागेश दिवाण यांचे विद्यमाने दादासाहेब याणी सल्ल्याचे बोलणे लाविले त्यांत भाव आम्ही व इतःपर लढाई करीत नाही व पुण्यासही येत नाही त्यास आम्हाबरोबर मानकरी वगैरे फौज आहे याचे जसे आम्ही चालवित होतो तसे तुम्हीही चालवावे त्याप्रमाणे हरीपंत तात्यानी कबूल केले. त्यानंतर दादासाहेब याणी कलकत्यास पत्रे पाठवावयाची योजना करून धोंडो खंडाजी श्री कासीत होते त्यास पत्र लिहिले की हली गौरनेर कलकत्यास नवे आले आहेत त्याचे नावची माहिती आम्हास नाही. त्यास तुम्ही आमचे नावची पत्रे व आमचे नावचे सिके नवे करून पत्रे तयार करून तुम्ही कलकत्यास जावे पत्रे तयार करावयाची त्यातील बाब आम्हास मसलत समंधे खर्चास व कुमक लागेल व ती तुम्हाकडून व्हावी या अन्वयाची लिहून धोंडोपंत आज्ञेप्रमाणे कलकत्यास गेले तेथे जाऊन गौरनेर साहेब यास थैली दिल्ली त्याणी मुंबईस हरबीसाहेब गौरनेर होते त्यांस पत्रे पाठविली की यास पैका लागेल तो व कुमक लागेल ती देऊन पुस्तपना राखित जावा.^४ वारंवार हुकूमाचा उजूर धरून नवे म्हणोन अशा अन्वयाची पत्रे घेऊन धोंडो खंडाजी याणी दादासाहेब यांजकडे रवाना केली. आपण श्रीकासीस गेले. ती पत्रे डाकेवरून मुंबईचे साहेबाकडे आली. त्यातील साहेब याणी आपले पत्र घेऊन दादासाहेब याचे नावचे थैली पत्र यांजकडे पाठविले आणि आपण लिहिले की आम्हास हुकूम कराल त्यास हजार आहो. नंतर दादासाहेब याणि आपल्यास पका पुस्तपना जाहल्या असे समजून हरीपंत तात्या यांजकडे मानकरी वगैरे फौज शागिर्द पेशा सुधा पाठवावयाची तयारी करून त्यांस सांगितले की ज्यास आम्हाबरोबर येणे असेल त्याणी यावे ज्यांस हरीपंत यांजकडे जावयाचे असेल त्याणी जावे. जातील त्याचा इतभाम पूर्ववत्प्रमाणे राखणेविशी गाईकवाड यांजकडील दिवाणाचे विद्यमाने ठराव केला आहे त्याप्रमाणे हरीपंत दामोदर बंदोबस्त करून देतील. वेवसा जावे. असी आज्ञा जाहल्यावरून दिड दोन हजार कारकून शागिर्दपेशा व सिलेदार वगैरे मिळून दादासाहेब याजपाशी राहिले बाकी दरोबस्त फौज तात्या यांजकडे गेली. त्यानी बरदास्त करून लोक ठेऊन घेतले आणि मसलत केली की आता दादासाहेब याजपाशी फौज नाही तेव्हा यास कैद करावे येविसी मसलत करून सुरतेच्या नबाबास पत्र लिहिले. त्यांत भाव दादासाहेब सुरतेस आले असता तुम्ही तेथे कैद करावे त्याप्रमाणे नबाबाचे प्रत्योतर कैद करितो म्हणोन आले हा मजकूर दादासाहेब यांस समजला त्याजवरून सुरतेस बडम^५ साहेब इंग्रज होता त्यास लिहिले की आम्ही सुरतेस येणार त्यास तुम्हाकडील येक पलटण सरंजाम सुधा पुढे सोनगडच्या मुकामास पाठऊन देणे. त्याप्रमाणे पलटण आले. हे समजल्यानंतर दादासाहेब याणि कूच करून सोनगडास आले. तेथून कूच करून सुरतेस आले. तेथे पाहिले होते तेथे महमुदी बागेत मुकाम केला. इकडे हरीपंत तात्या फौज सुधा दर कूच पुण्यास आले. दादासाहेब याणि सुरतेस च्यार हजार लोक नवे ठेऊन मुंबईस येण्याची मसलत करून बाहेर निघाले. मार्गी पेशवाईचे मुलकांत रोखे करून घासदाणा व खंडणी लाख दोन लाख रुपये घेतले आणि तारापूरच्या मुकामास आले. किला घेतला हे वर्तमान पुण्यास समजले त्यावरून भिवराव पानसे यांज बरोबर फौज तोफखाना घेऊन रवाना केले. दादासाहेब याणी आमृतरावसाहेब यास

^१ राघोबाना चेलावीच्या बागेत ठेविले आहे असे रॉबर्ट गॅबीयर गव्हर्नर हॉर्नबीला सुरतेहून कळवितो. Gaikwads, II, p. 246.

^२ Ibid., p. 245.

^३ Ibid., pp. 247-48.

^४ बंगाल्याहून पत्रे आल्याचा उल्लेख का. सं. प. या., ले २२६, पृ. २११ मध्ये आहे.

^५ सखाराम पंडित असे नांव वरील पत्रांत आहे.

^६ बोर्डम हा हॉर्नबी नंतर मुंबईचा गव्हर्नर झाला.

^७ Gaikwads, I, p. 256.

तारापूर किल्ल्यांत सरंजाम सुधा ठेऊन आपण मुंबईस गेले. त्याच्या पूर्वी भाऊसाहेब याचे नावचा तोतया जाहला होता. त्यास बोरघाटात भिवराव पानशे याणि लुटून घेतला होता. त्यातील पळ दरोबस्त साष्टीस आला त्यांत व्यंकटराव घोरपडे इचलकर्जीकर होते. बरोबर हत्ती येक व स्वार शंभर सुमार व पायदळ मिळून चार पांचशेचा भरणा होता त्यामुद्धा साष्टीस आले. त्याशिवाय आणखीही तोतयाकडील फौज तीन चार हजार पायदळ सुधा साष्टीस आले. खुद तोतया मोड जाल्यानंतर मुंबईस यावे म्हणून बेलापूरचे बंदरी गलबतात बसून निघाले. ते गलबत वाऱ्याने हाटले ते कुलाब्याच्या वाऱ्यावर गेले. तेथे राघोजी आंगरे याजकडील जहाजे चौकी पाहाऱ्यात होती त्याणी हे गलबत धरिले.^१ त्यांत तोतया सापडला त्यास कुलाब्यास नेला हे वर्तमान आंगरे आणि माहादजी सिंदे यास लिहिले त्याणी पुण्यास नानास लिहिले तेव्हा तो आपल्या हस्तगत व्हावा म्हणोन नानानी माहादाजी सिंदे यास लिहिले.^२ त्याणी उत्तर पाठविले की आंगरे याणी काम मोठे बज्याविले त्यापेक्षा त्यास काही बर्खास देऊन तोतया हस्तगत करून घ्यावा व त्यावरून नाना आणि किले माणिकगड^३ व बाबामलंग असे दोन किले माहाल सुधा घावयाचे ठरवून सनदा सिंदे याजकडे पाठविल्या. त्याणि आंगरे याजकडे दोनी किले देऊन तोतया आपले हवाली करून घेतला आणि पुण्यास रवाना केला.^४ त्यास नानानी पुण्यात मारविला. त्याची फौज पळून साष्टीस आलीच होती त्यास दादासाहेब याणी खर्चास देऊन आपणापासी ठेऊन घेतली. व्यंकटराव घोरपडे यास आपणापासी मुंबईस बोलाऊन आणविले.^५ त्यासदोन महिने आपणापासी ठेऊन घेऊन पुढे वस्त्र देऊन इचलकर्जीस रवाना केले. मनोहर माहादाजी राम कर्दीकर यांस दिले होते त्याणी इचलकर्जीस पोहचऊन मातुश्री आनुबाई यांचा निरोप घेऊन मुंबईस दादासाहेब यांजपासी गेले. भिवराव पानशे दादासाहेब याचे तोंडावर आले होते त्याणी तारापूरचा किला घेतला.^६ आंत अमृतराव होते ते जाहाजात बसून मुंबईस दादासाहेब यांजपासी आले.^७ पुण्यात मोरोबादादा फडणीस याणी मसलत केली की नाना फडणीस यांस आम्ही कैद करणार त्यास आपण सामील होऊन पुण्यास येण्याचा बेत करावा.^८ त्यावरून दादासाहेब गोरे याणि उत्तर लिहिले की, आम्ही सरंजाममुद्धा येतो. याप्रमाणे वकिलास सांगून आपण कूच करून माजगांवचे मुकामास आले हे वर्तमान बाबुराव काणे नानाकडीलवकील मुंबईस होते त्याणि लिहिले त्यावरून नानानी आंत दादासाहेब यास चिठी पाठविली की आपण इकडे येण्याचे करू नये आम्ही मोरोबादादाचा बंदोबस्त करितो. आपण आला असता त्याचा जसा बंदोबस्त करू तसा आपलाहि करावा लागेल तेव्हा आम्हाकडून अमर्यादा होईल याजकरिता विनंती लिहिली आहे म्हणोन चिठी पाठविली त्याजवरून दादासाहेब तेथेच एक महिना राहिले.^९ इकडे आपाजीपंत गोंधळेकर मोरोबा दादाकडील करवीरचे मसलतीस गेले होते. त्याणी करवीरचे मसलतीस समेट करून माघारे तीस च्यालीस हजार फौजेनिशी फलटणचे मुकामी आले. ते आल्यानंतर नानास कैद करावयाचा बेत होता. त्यास तेथेच फौजेत फितूर होऊन खर्चाकरिता गोधलेकर यास आडविले. तेथे पंधरा दिवस पर्यंत मुकाम होऊन तोडजोड करितात तो इकडे मोरोबादादा याची स्वारी बहुळास होती तेथे होलकर याची फौज व हुजुरात पाठऊन कैद केले आणि माधवराव नगरकर याचे स्वाधीन करून नगरच्या किल्ल्यात पाठविले.^{१०} पुण्यात मोरोबादादाची पत्नी चिमाबाई होती त्यांजपासी लोक होते त्यास दूर करून नानानी आपलेकडील राघोपंत गडबोले यांजकडील शंभर गारदी व कारकून चौकी पाहऱ्यास ठेविले. दादासाहेब माघारे पहिल्या ठिकाणास गेले. तेथे नवे लोक चाकरीत ठेवून फलटण सजविले व तोफा कांहीं ओतविल्या व खरेदीहि घेतल्या येकंदर गर्नालमुद्धा सत्तावीस तोफा तयार जाहल्या. सरंजाम दारूगोळा दर तोफेस शंभर बार याप्रमाणे

^१ म. शि. का., ले. २१.

^२ ऐ. टि. २, ले. २३.

^३ स. मा. रो. १, ले. १८७.

^४ ऐ. ले. सं. ६, ले. १९२५; ऐ. टि. २, ले. २५.

^५ ऐ. ले. सं. ६, ले. १९५४.

^६ कित्ता, ले. १९३६.

^७ कित्ता, ले. १९३४.

^८ कित्ता ७, पृ. ३२३६; अधिकारयोग, पृ. ७७.

^९ C. P. C., V, L. 989; Forrest, *Maratha Series I*, pp. 304, 307

^{१०} ऐ. ले. सं. ७, पृ. ३३१६-१७.

तयारी केली. तीनशे बैल खरेदी केले. कलकत्यास येथून दोन कारकून पाठविले आणि तेथून येक कंपु व पांच हजार तुरूप स्वार आणविले. ते बराणपुरानजिक आले. तेथे परजन्यामुळे पंधरा दिवस मुकाम जाहला. इकडे चार पलटणे व इष्टोर फाकडा बरोबर घेऊन बोर घाटावर गेले.^१ . . . कलम.

श्रीमंत दादासाहेब परांड्याच्या मुकामी असतां त्रिबकराव मामा यांचे लढाईचे पूर्वी हैदर नाईक सुभा कर्नाटक याजकडे वकिलीस बाजीराव गोविंद बर्वे यास पागा व स्वार मिळोन पांचशे लोक देऊन पाठविले. त्यांत हासील इकडील प्रांतात लोक ठेवून ठाणीं घालणें विसी बर्वे यास आज्ञा केली आहे त्यास तुम्हीहि सामील होऊन ठाणीं घालावीं असीं पत्रे हैदरखान यास लिहून रवानगी केली. नंतर त्रिबकराव मामाची लढाई होऊन मुंबईस आल्याचा विस्तार सदरी लिहिलाच आहे. मुंबईहून आबाजी महादेव याची रवानगी कर्नाटकांत केली. त्याच्या पूर्वी पहिल्या पत्राच्या सकेताप्रमाणे हैदर नाईक व बाजीराव गोविंद बर्वे याणीं फौज ठेवून कांहीं ठाणीं घातलीच होती. आबाजी महादेव तेथें पोहचल्यावर दरकदार पाठविले पाहिजत म्हणोन पत्रें मुंबई मुकामीं आली. त्यावरून दरकदार गोपाळ धोंडदेव नातू दिवाण व राघो गणेश करदीकर फडणीस या उभयतांस रवाना केले. व मुजमुच्या दरकाच्या सनदा आबाजी महादेव यांचे बंधु सदासीव महादेव यांचे नावच्या लिहून पाठविल्या. नंतर आबाजी महादेव याणीं आणखी फौज ठेवून बहुतेक ठाणीं घातलीं तेव्हां पुण्यांतून बंदाबस्ताकरितां पांडुरंगराव तात्या पटवर्धन यास फौजसुद्धां कर्नाटकांत पाठविले त्याची व याची लढाई जाहली. तेथें पांडुरंगराव तात्या पाडाव गेले. बराबर येकवीस असामी ब्राम्हण मंडळी वगैरे सापडली. त्याची बरदास्त राखून आबाजी महादेव याणीं दादासाहेब यांजकडे पत्र लिहिली तीं मुंबई मुकामीं आली. त्याची उत्तर लिहिली कीं पटवर्धन सरकारचे पदरचेच आहेत त्याची बरदास्त राखली, फारच चांगले केलें. ते चाकरीस राहत असल्यास फौजसुद्धां घ्यावे. न राहिल्यास निरोप द्यावे याप्रमाणे उत्तरे पाठविली.

१ आबाजी महादेव याणीं कर्नाटकातून आडीच लक्ष रुपयाचे होन पाठविले ते मुंबई मुकामीं येऊन पोहचले.

१ श्रीमंत दादासाहेब मुंबईहून बोरघाटाच्या मुकामीं आले असून तेथून पुढें च्यार कोस कारल्यास मुकाम केला तेथें पानशे वगैरे फौज आडवी पुढें आली. त्याची व याची गोळागोळी होऊन इष्टोर फाकडा तोफेच्या गोळ्याने ठार पडला.^२ दुसरे दिवशीं त्याचा दुयम इंग्रज यास घेऊन पुढे वडगांवच्या मुकामास पांच कोस आले. तेथें दोन मुकाम केले तेव्हां तळेगांव पानशे वगैरे याणीं जाळ(ले) हे वर्तमान दादासाहेब यास समजले नंतर पेशवे याजकडील सिंदे होळकर पानशे व हुजुरांत तीस चाळीस हजार फौज होती त्याणीं दादासाहेब यासभोवता गोळ्याचा मारा बाहेर वेढा घातला. त्या दिवसी तेथेंच मुकाम जाहला आणि दादासाहेब याणीं विचार केला कीं आता त्यासी सलूक करणें त्यापेक्षां मृत्यू बरा असा विचार करून चितो विठल कारभारी यास सांगितले कीं तुम्ही आपले नांव सखाराम बापू चिचवडास आहेत त्यास चिठी पाठवून आणवावे. त्यावरून चितो विठल याणीं चिठी पाठविली. ती घेऊन नाना फडणीस रावतच्या मुकामीं होते तेथें गेले आणि चिठी दाखवून विचारले कीं, पुढें कसे करावें तेव्हां नानांनीं सांगितलें कीं आपण जावे त्याचा मजकूर समजून घ्यावा त्या वरून सखाराम बापू येका घोड्यानिशी च्यार घटके रात्रीस दादासाहेब यांजपासीं आले. ते समई चितो विठलहि आले आणि त्याणीं सांगितलें कीं उदईक च्यार पलटणांनिशी चालून घ्यावे. मुकामीं येक पलटण व अमृतराव साहेब व नाटकशाळा जामदारखाना व जवहरखाना वगैरे सलतनत दरोबस्त ठेवावी आणि आपण चालून घ्यावे असा निश्चय श्रीमंतानीं केला आहे हे तुम्हास समजावे म्हणोन बोलाऊन आणविले असे दादासाहेब यांचे समक्ष सखाराम बापूस चितो विठल याणीं सांगितले त्याजवरून सखाराम बापू याणीं विनंती केली कीं असा अविवेक करावयाचा नाही. सिंदे याचे विचार जसे ठरेल त्यास आपण मान्य होऊन सला करावा आणि या पेचातून निघून नर्मदापार व्हावे. तिकडील राज्य नर्मदा उत्तर तीर दरोबस्त आमल आपला व्हावा असें खातरजमेनें मी करून देतो असे बापू याणीं सांगितले त्यावरून दादासाहेब याणीं उत्तर केलें कीं, तुम्ही बोलता यास प्रमाण काय? त्यावरून सखाराम बापू याणीं विनंती केली कीं उदईक प्रहर दिवसपर्यंत सिंदे याजकडील वकील बोलण्यास आपलेकडे येतील हीच खूण. हे न जाहाले

^१ ऐ. ले. सं. ७, ले. २४५२, पृ. ३३८३.

^२ कॅप्टन स्टुअर्ट (इष्टोर फाकडा) ता. ४ जाने. १७७९ ला कार्ल्यास गोळी लागून ठार झाला.

असतां आपल्या विचार्यास येईल तसें करावें असें सांगून निरोप घेऊन सखाराम बापू गेले ते वेळेस आम्ही जवळ पांच सात मंडळी होतो. सखाराम बापू नाना फडणीस याचे डब्यास मध्यरात्री जाऊन जालेला मजकूर सांगितला तेव्हां चढाई करून येतात हे ऐकून नाना हवालदील जाले आणि सांगितलें कीं सला होई ते करावे. त्यावरून तेथून माहादाजी सिंदे यास बोलाऊन पाठवून आणविले आणि सविस्तर मजकूर सांगितला आणि विचारिलें कीं चढाई परस्परें केली असतां त्यांच्या पुढे इकडील फौजेचा टिकाव होईल की काय तुम्हास माहीतच आहे त्यापेक्षां तुम्ही वकील पाठवून सलूक करावा. आम्ही त्यासी विनंती केलीच आहे त्यावरून सिंदे याणी उत्तर आहे असें म्हणोन दुसरे दिवसी प्रातःकाळीं सिंदे याणी केसो अन्त व राणखान यास वकिलीस दादासाहेब यांजकडे पाठविले ते प्रहर दिवसाच्या सुमारे येऊन पोहचले. त्याणी विनंती केली की काय आज्ञा त्यावरून दादासाहेब याणी सांगितलें कीं तुमच्या मनांतून सला करावा असे आहे तर वेढा उठवावा नंतर काय ते बोलावयास येईल. असें सांगताच त्याच वेळेस वेढा उठविला. दादासाहेब याणी कूच करून पलटणासुद्धा तळेगांवास मुकामास आले तेथे सिंदे याचें बोलणें पडले कीं इंग्रजाची पलटणे आपल्याबरोबर आहेत, यास निरोप द्यावा. त्यावरून दादासाहेब याणी सांगितलें कीं पलटणें साष्टीस बाके सरंजामासुद्धा जाऊन पोहोचली असी खातरी तुम्ही सांगावी म्हणजे निरोप देऊन रवाना करितां येतील त्यावरून होळकराकडील दिवाण नारो गणेश दरम्यान राहिले आणि सिंदे याणी पलटणें पोचवण्यास आपल्याकडील फौज देऊन साष्टीस पोहोचविली. पलटणें गेली तेव्हां दादासाहेब याजपासी खासगत सरंजाम होता त्याच्या चौक्या रखवलीस बसविल्या. त्याचा तपसील आपल्या डब्या नजीक मावळ लोक दोनशे होते त्यांची चौकी त्याच्याबाहेर हजार गारदी यांची चौकी त्याच्या बाहेर कवाईती लोक हजार होते त्याची चौकी त्याच्या बाहेर बराबर सतावीस तोफा होत्या त्याची चौकी त्याच्या बाहेर गोळ्याच्या मारणी पलिकड हजार स्वाराचा छवीना याप्रमाणे बंदाबस्त केला आणि राहिले. नंतर सिंदे यांचे बोलणें पडलें कीं आपण झासीस राहावे. तेथें खासगी खर्चाचा सरंजाम तेरा लक्षाचा ठराव आहे तो व अमृतराव यास सात लक्षाचा द्यावा असें पूर्वी ठरलें आहे त्याप्रमाणें द्यावा आणि तेथें राहावे याप्रा सिंदे याणी सांगितले.^१ त्याप्रमाणे मान्य आहो असें दादासाहेबांनी कबूल केलें. यानंतर सिंदे याणी विनंती केली कीं नाना फडणीस यांचे सिंदे याजपासी सांगितले आणि आंतून त्यास न कळतां नाना फडणीस यांजकडे सांगून पाठविले कीं तुम्ही सिंदे याचे विद्यमाने भटीस आला असतां तुमचा वक्र राहणार नाही त्यावरून नानानी विनंती सांगून पाठविली कीं सिंदे यांच्या विद्यमानें भेट घ्यावी असे बोलण्यांत आहे त्यास कसें करावें ही आज्ञा यावी त्यावरून दादासाहेब याणी सांगून पाठविले कीं आम्हाकडील बोलावणें येईल त्या समई तुम्ही यावे. सिंदे तुम्हास भेटीचा प्रकार विचारितील त्यांस सांगावें कीं बोलावणें आले म्हणजे सिध्दच आहे. मजकडून गुंता नाही असे सांगावें. आम्ही बोलाऊ पाठवीत नाहीं याप्रमाणें आंतून संकेत जाहला. दुसरे दिवसी सिंदे याजकडील वकील नानाकडे भेटीस चलावे म्हणोन गेले. त्यास नानांनी सांगितलें कीं बोलावणें आले म्हणजे यतो. त्यावरून तेच वकील दादासाहेब याजकडे येऊन विनंती केली की नानास भटीस येणेंविशी बोलावणें गेले पाहिजे. त्यास उत्तर केलें कीं आमचे भटीचे नानासी प्रयोजन नाही. काय बोलणें तें तुमचेच विचार्ये होतच आहे. आमचे नानासी कारण नाही. त्यावरून वकील नानाकडे गेले आणि त्यास सांगितलें कीं आपण भटीस चलावे. त्यास उत्तर नानांनी केलें कीं आमची चाल पहिल्यापासून कारकुनी इराद्याची आपले काम असेल तर जावे अथवा सरकारचे बोलावणें आल्यास जावें असी चाल आजपर्यंत चालत आली याची माहिती तुम्हास आहेच त्यापेक्षां बोलावणें न येतां जावें हें ठीक नव्हे. असे सांगितल्यावरून फिरोन दादासाहेब याजकडे आले आणि बोला(व)णें पाठविणेंविशी बहुत प्रकारें विनंती केली. परंतु पहिल्याप्रमाणें उत्तर जाहले त्यावरून ते माघारे सिंदे याजकडे जाऊन झालेला मजकूर सांगितला. भेटीचा संकेत होता तो राहिला. त्यानंतर तळेगांव मुकामी अमृतराव यांचे दुसरे लग्न जाहलें. झासीस दादासाहेब यास पोहोचवावयास सिंदे याजकडील तीन हजार फौज व होळकर याजकडील दोन हजार येकूण पांच (हजार) फौज हरीपंत

^१ 'तह व करारमदार' ह्या पुस्तकांत पृ. १३०-१३४ वर दादासाहेब उर्फ रघुनाथराव याजशीं तीन करार ता. ३-२-१७७९ रोजी झालेले दिले आहेत. याखेरीज पहा ए. टि. १, ले. ७; म. इ. सा. १९, ले. २०१.

फणशे होळकर याजकडील व हरी बाबाजी सिंदे याजकडील असे फौजेत मुखत्यार नेमून सिवाय दादासाहेब यासी खासगत खर्चास दरमहा रुपये पंचवीस हजार झासीस पोहचऊन वीस लक्षाचा सरंजाम व किला स्वाधीन होईपर्यंत हरी बाबाजी याणी ध्यावे याप्रमाणे ठराव करून होळकर दरम्यान घेऊन दादासाहेब याणी कूच करून तुलापुरास गेले. तेथून सिंदे यास न कळता माहा-दाजीपंत गोगटे यांस नाना फडणीस यांजकडे पाठविलें कीं तुमचा विश्वासू चांगला खातरजमेचा गृहस्थ असेल त्यास इकडे पाठवावा त्यासी काहीं बोलावयाचें आहे. त्यावरून गोविंदभट निजसुरे यास नानांनी पाठविले ते प्रहर रात्रीस आले. त्यासी दादासाहेब याणी आज्ञा केली की आम्ही हिंदुस्थानांत दूर देशीं जातो पाठीमागे दौलत बहुत हुशारीने रक्षण करावी.^१ सखाराम बापू बखेडखोर आहेत. त्याच्या भरंवशावर राहूं नये. सिंदे होळकर बापूच्या स्वाधीन आहेत. चिरंजीव वाळा लहान हे पुरंधर कल्यावर आहेत तेथेंच ठेवतील आणि त्रिवर्ग येकत्र होऊन तुमचाहि बंदोबस्त करतील यास्तव बहुत बहुत सावधगिरीने या त्रिवर्गासी असावे याप्राा गोविंदभट याजपासी सांगितले. त्याणी नाना याजपाशी सर्व मजकूर सांगितला. तेव्हां नानांनीं उत्तर केलें कीं यांचा बंदोबस्त माझ्यानें होणें कठीण यास कसें करावें यांविशीची तुम्ही जाऊन विनंती करावी. त्यावरून दुसरें दिवसी वारा घटके रात्रीस निजसुरे भटजी दादासाहेब याजकडे आले आणि नानांनी सांगितल्याप्रमाणे विनंती केली त्याजवरून दादासाहेब याणी सांगितले की मी टोक्यास येक महिना मुकाम करून सर्व बंदोबस्त करितो. तुम्ही काळजी करू नये याप्रमाणे नानास सांगावे असें भटजी याजपासी सांगून निरोप दिल्या. भटजी नानाकडे येऊन झालेला वृत्तांत सांगितला.

कलम.

१ दादासाहेब याणी आपले चवथे लग्न तुळापुर मुकामीं केले. मुलगी सदाशिव भिकाजी पेंडसे यांची.

१ तुळापुराहून कूच करून टोक्याच्या मुकामास गेले.^२ तेथून सखाराम बापू याच्या कांहीं दस्तऐवजी चिठ्या होत्या त्या नानाकडे पाठवून दिल्या आणि सांगून पाठविलें कीं सिंदे यासी सख्यत्व करून त्याणी किला महाल आणखीहि मागितल्यास कबूल करून त्यांचे हातून सखाराम बापू यास कैद करऊन आपल्या हवाली करून ध्यावे. त्यावरून नानांनीं सिंदे यासी बोलणें लाविलें कीं तुम्हांस किले आशरी व बराणपूर माहाल देतो. तुम्ही सखाराम बापूस कैद करून आमचे हवाली करावे. त्यावरून सिंदे याणी कबूल करून बोलणें घातलें कीं तूर्त इकडे कांहीं काम नाही. यापेक्षां आम्हांस देशी जाण्यास निरोप देवावा. त्यावरून नाना व सखाराम बापू याणीं विचार करून सिंदे होळकर यास पुरंधर कल्यावर मेजवानीस नेऊन वस्त्रे देऊन निरोप देविला नंतर सिंदे होळकर याणी विनंती केली कीं सरकारची स्वारी आमचे डेऱ्यास आली पाहिजे. त्याजवरून रुकारहि जाहला. त्याप्रमाणें होळकर व सिंदे याणी मेजवानीची तयारी आपआपलें जागा करून बोलावणें पाठविले. त्यावरून खासा स्वारी कल्यावरून उतरून प्रथम होळकर याचे डेऱ्यास आली. तेथे मेजवानी वस्त्रे जवाहीर मानकरी सुधा सर्वास होळकर याणी दिले. नंतर सिंदे यांचे डेऱ्यास स्वारी गेली. तेथेहि मेजवानी पूर्ववत्प्रमाणें जाहली तेथें सिंदे होळकर यास नाना फडणीस यांणी सांगितले कीं खासा स्वारी सुमूहर्तानें किल्याखालीं आली आहे. त्यास आज आमचे डेऱ्यास भोजन होऊन कल्यावर जाईल. याजकरितां मी पुढें जातो असें सांगून नाना फडणीस निघोन गेले. आणि नाना फडणीस याणी राघोपंत गडबोले याजबरोबर हजार आरब व दोन हजार फौज हुजरांत देऊन सिंदे यांच्या डेऱ्याजवळ ठेविलें. पुढें श्रीमंताची स्वारी नानाचे डेऱ्यास गेली. नंतर सिंदे यांचे बोलणें सखाराम बापूसी पडलें कीं आम्ही देसी जाणार त्यास खर्चाची अडचण याचा बंदोबस्त केला पाहिजे असें सांगून आपण लघुशेखेचे निमित्त करून तेथून उठून डेऱ्याच्या पलीकडील कुंजांत गेले. पाठीमागें सिंदे यांजकडील लोकांनी पहिल्या संकेताप्रमाणें डेऱ्याची कनाथ पाडून नानाकडील आरब जवळच होते त्याचे हवाली सखाराम बापू यांस केले. त्याणी पालखींत घालून किले सिव्हागडास नेऊन ठेवावे^३ आणि किले दाखल जाहले म्हणजे संकेताच्या तोफा व्हाव्या असा बेत होता. त्यास तेथे पोहचावयास प्रहर दहा घटका रात्र जाहली किल्याचे दरवाजे माहामुर जाहले ते

^१ पे. द. ५, ले. ९७ ; ऐ. टि. १, ले. ७.

^२ ऐ. ले. सं. ७, ले. २४८७.

^३ किता, ले. २४८६, पृ. ३४४३ ; म. द., (र. २), पृ. ११०.

उघडावे येविसी हवालदार यास सांगितलें त्याणी आंतून उत्तर केलें की दरवाजे आपरात्रीस उघडावयाचे कलम कानुजावत्यांत नाहीं. ते पक्षीं रात्रींच रात्र तुम्हीं संभाळावे. प्रातःकाळीं काय ती आज्ञा व्हावी त्यावरून नारोपंत गद्रे सुभेदार व राघोपंत गडबोले याणी हवालदाराची नालस्ती लिहून पाठविली. त्याचे उत्तर नानानी लिहिलें की इकडनच इशारा नव्हता त्यापेक्षां हवालदार याणें सांगितलें तें ठीकच आहे. त्याजकडे शब्द नाहीं प्रातःकाळीं हवालदार याणी सखाराम बापूस स्वाधीन करून घेऊन सरकार हुकमा प्रा. बंदोबस्त केला.^१ इकडे नाना याणीं सिंदे यासी करार केल्याप्रमाणें सोडचिठ्या दिल्या आणि झालेला मजकूर डाकेंतून दादासाहेब यास लिहून पाठविला. ती पत्रें पाहून दुसरे दिवशीं कूच करून येरूळच्या मुकामास गेले. तेथून पुढें मजल दरमजल बराणपुरानजीक गेले. तेथें सौवती आनंदीबाई व बाजीरावही पवाराकडील धारेच्या किल्यांत होती त्यास घेऊन रंगराव बोढेकर निा पवार पांच हजार फौजेनिसी आले आणि दादासाहेब यांचे हवाली केली.^२ तेथे चार मुकाम जाहले. तेथून कूच करून आशरी किल्याखालून सातपुड्याहून आंकार मांधाताच्या दर्शनास गेले. तेथे दोन मुकाम करून महेश्वरानजीक मंडळेश्वरास मुकामास आले तेथेंहि तीन मुकाम जाहले तेथून कूच करून जेथें नर्मदा उतरावयाचा घाट तेथें मुकामास आले.^३ तेथें आठ मुकाम जाहले. तळेगांवच्या मुकामाहून दादासाहेब याणी कलकत्याहून पलटणे व तुरुप स्वार आणविले ते बराणपुरच्या मुकामी परजन्यामुळे राहिले होते त्यास पत्रें पाठविली कीं तुम्ही कूच करून सुरतेस जावे. तेथे तुमच्या आमच्या भेटी होतील असी पाठविली होती त्याप्रमाणें ते सुरतेस गेले. इकडे सिंदे याणी हरी बाबाजीस बरोबर तीन हजार फौज देऊन दिले होते त्याणी मसलत केली कीं दादासाहेब यास हस्तगत करावयाचे त्यास नर्मदा उतरावयाचे संधीस गडबड करावयाची परंतु त्याजपासी तोफखाना गाडद आहे. यास कसें करावे यविसी होळकर दरम्यान ते व दादासाहेब येकत्र असता आमची मसलत सिंदीस जाणार नाहीं त्यास होळकर याची फौज कांहीं बहाना सांगून नर्मदापार करावी म्हणजे ठीक पडेल. त्याप्रा होळकर यांजकडील हरीपंत फणसे यांस बोलाऊन सांगितलें कीं तुम्ही पार उतरून आज मुकाम करावे. उदईक आम्हीहि येतो त्याप्रमाणें सांगितलें त्यावरून त्याणी कूच करून नर्मदापार आर्ध कोसावर मुकाम केला. ही बातमी दादासाहेब यांजपासी हरी बाबाजीचे वकील होते त्याणी सांगितले कीं, आमचे मनांतून तुम्हास दगा करावयाचा आहे त्यास आपण सावध असावे. त्याच समई त्या वकीलास पाचशें सो बक्षीस दिले व येक गांव इनाम नेवासे परगण्यांत करून दिले. नंतर दादासाहेब याणी विचार केला की उदईक कूच करावयाचे लोक तोफखाना पलीकडे गेलिला पाहून हे दगा पाठीमागे करतील त्यास कांहीं युक्ति काढिली पाहिजे असा विचार करून हरी बाबाजी यांजकडे सांगून पाठविलें कीं उदईक कूच करून नर्मदापार जावयाचे त्यास आम्हापासी लोक आहेत त्या पो कांहीं देशी जाणार त्यास खर्चास दिले पाहिजे व जे बरोबर येतात त्याची घरें देशी आहेत ते खर्चास पाठविणार याजकरितां तूर्त येक रोजमरा चढलाच आहे व आणखी येक रोजमरा आगाव असे दोन रोजमरेचे पनास हजार सो द्यावे म्हणजे त्यांस निरोप देऊन कूच करतां येईल. त्याचे उत्तर त्याणी सांगून पाठविलें कीं आगाव रोजमरा मिळावयाचा नाहीं व चढला रोजमरा आहे तो नर्मदापार गेल्यानंतर देऊ. यथें कांहीं मिळावयाचा नाहीं त्यावरून विषड पडोन दोन मुकाम जाहले. नंतर दादासाहेब यांणी सांगून पाठविलें कीं चढला रोजमरा पलिकडे गेल्यानंतर देता म्हणता त्यास वरें आहे. हा तोफखाना आमचा चालतां जाहला म्हणोन सांगितलें आणि दहा बारा तोफा सरंजाम लोकसुद्धां पलिकडे जावयास नर्मदातीरी उतरावर रवाना केल्या. आणि हरी बाबाजी यांजकडे दोन कारकून रोजमऱ्याचा एवज मागावयास पाठविले आणि मागाहून शंभर लोक कवाईती घनःशामसिंग सुभेदार याजबरोबर देऊन पाठविले आणि त्यास सांगितलें कीं आमचे कारकून हरी बाबाजीकडे यैवजाकरितां गेले आहेत त्यास तुम्ही शंभर आसामीनी वायबार भरून जावे आणि तेथें कारकून आहेत त्यांस एवज मागावा. नंतर येक वेळ वायबाराची फेर झाडून जामदारखान्याची राहुटी व त्याचे राहुटीस वेढा घालावा याप्रा आज्ञा जाहली. त्याप्रमाणें शंभर लोक घेऊन सुभेदार आले. तो हरी बाबाजी जामदारखान्याच्याच राहुटीत बसले होते. त्यांजपासी

^१ ऐ. ले. सं. ७, ले. २४८८.

^२ किता, ले. २५०३.

^३ किता, ले. २५०३.

^४ Gaikawads, III, p. 43.

दादासाहेब याणी पाठविलेले कारकून होते त्या कारकुनास धनःशामसिंग यास सांगितले की कच होऊन तोफखाना पलिकडे जाण्याकरितां चालता जाहला. ऐवज आमचे पदरी घालावा. त्यास त्याणी सांगितले की बरे आहे हे हरी बाबाजीनी ऐकून फौर झडली आणि राहुटी वेढली. तेथेंच हरी बाबाजी कैद करावा^१ इतक्यांत त्याणी हुशार होऊन कोतवाल घोडा तयार होता त्याजवर बसून हातात फिरंग घऊन व नमदेच्या उताराकडे चालते जाहले. त्याचे पिछास च्यार स्वार लागले. त्याणी नर्मदेच्या डगरीवर हरी बाबाजी याजवर भाला टाकिला तो घोडीस निसटता लागला. तसेच पुढे पळू लागले तो घोडा पाण्यांत गेला तेथें ठचल्ला. त्या समई दुमुरे भालकरी याणे भाला टाकिला तो घोड्यास निसटता वार लागला ते न मानता तसेच पुढें चाललें. घोड्याच्या छातीबरोबर पाणी जाहले तेथहि आणखी घोडा ठेचला. इतक्यात आणखी भाला मारला तो हरी बाबाजीचे पाठीवर निसटता लागला. तत्राप न मानतां पलीकड कड दहा पंधरा होती तेथपर्यंत गेले. तेथें या चौघा स्वारांनी पाठलाग केला त्याजवर हरी बाबाजी उलटून फिरंगीचा वार केला. तो येक स्वाराचे पागोट्याचे पेच तुटून कपाळावर जखम निसटती लागली. नंतर हरी बाबाजी पलीकड जाण्याकरितां निघाले. त्याजवर भालेकरी याणी तिसरा भाला मारिला. तो हरी बाबाजीचे पाठीवर लागून हैराण जाहले. परंतु तसेच पुढें नमदापार होऊन डगर चढूं लागले त्या संधीस तरवारीचा वार येक स्वारांनी केला. त्याणे घोड्याखालीं आले तेथें मुसक्या बांधल्या.^२ या स्वाराच्या दुमाल्यावर अमृतराव शंभर स्वार घऊन होता तेहि तेथे जाऊन पोहचले. आणि तेथें पालखी आणऊन हरी बाबाजी पालखीत घालून नर्मदेच्या अलिकडे दादासाहेबानी ब्रम्हयज्ञाकरितां तीरी मंडप दिला होता तेथें आणिलें. इतके होईतोपर्यंत पाठीमागें हरी बाबाजीची मुलें माणसें आणऊन सौवती आनंदीबाई जवळ ठेविली व जामदारखान्याची मोजदाद करविली. तीन लक्षाचा पैवज कापड मुदां अजमास कागदी लागला. तेथें ज शंभर लोक पाठविले होते त्यासच चौकीस ठेविले. ही गलबल हरी बाबाजीचे फौजेत समजल्यावरून तीन हजार फौज तयार झाली. त्यास दादासाहेब याणी सांगून पाठविलें की तुम्ही चालून आला असतां गोळा घालू. त्याजवरून ते लोक जाग्यावरच तयार राहिले. हरी बाबाजी जखमी होते. त्यास बिचोव्यांत नेऊन ठविले. आणि जखमा शिवावयास तबीब पाठविले. नंतर हरी बाबाजीचा पैवज आपल्या जामदारखान्यांत आणविला आणि जाला मजकर नाना फडणीस^३ यास समजण्याकरितां लिहून डाकेंतून पाठविला आणि त्यास लिहिलें कीं तुमच्या बोलण्याच्या तहात अंतर पडले याउपर तुमचा आमचा बिघाड तह तुम्हाकडूनच बिघडला असी पाठविली आणि आपण कूच करून महेश्वरानजीक गेले. तेथें अहिल्याबाई होळकर यास सांगून पाठविलें कीं आम्हीं गुजराथेत जाणार त्यास तुम्हांकडील बोळावा यावा. त्यावरून पहिली फौज हरीपंत फणसे याजबरोबर दोन हजार होती त्या पो पांचश स्वार बोळाव्यास दिले. सिवाय माहालो माहालच रजवाड्याकडील भिल्याप्राा दिले नंतर कूच करून आळे मोहान यथे मुकामास गेले.^४ तेथे हरी बाबाजी जखमी होते. त्यास देवआज्ञा जाहली. तेव्हा त्या दिवसी तेथे मुकाम करून हरी बाबाजीची मुलें माणसे बरोबर सरंजाम देऊन महेश्वरास अहिल्याबाईकडे पाठविली. उत्तर कार्यास पांच हजार रुपये दिले. नंतर तेथून कूच करून राजपिपळास आले. तेथे रजवाड्यास सांगून पाठविले की आम्हास बडोद्यास जावयाचे त्यास तुम्हांकडील बोळावा आला पाहिजे. त्याजवरून शंभर भील पाठविले. तेथून कूच करून पुढे दहा कोस मुकामास गेले. तेथे वेत केला की

^१ दादा फत्तेसिंगास लिहितात, (ता. ३१ मे १७७९), 'स्वारी बरोबर हरि बाबाजी, होते. त्यानी बहुत अमर्यादा केली त्याजमुळे त्यांचें पारिपत्य करून स्वारी तिकडे येत आहे' (म. इ. सा. १०, ले. २०४).

^२ ऐ. टि. ४, ले. १०.

^३ नाना फडणीस यास ही बातमी ता. २० मे च्या आंत पोचली, तेव्हा त्यानें २० मे ला शिवाजी विठ्ठल यास माळव्यांत पत्र लिहिलें. (ऐ. टि. ४ ले. १०.). 'दादा कडील केसी कृष्ण दातार खानदेशांत गुलजारखानकडे जातो त्याचे पारिपत्य व्हावें' असें नाना शिंद्यांस लिहितो (का. सं. प. या., ले. ५०).

^४ दादा अलीमोहनचे रानांतून मुरतेस इंग्रजांकडे जाणार ही बातमी, महादजी फत्तेसिंग गायकवाडास कळवितो. ब. रा. द. ऐ. वें. २, ले. ६२.

गाईकवाडाकडील फौज आडवी आल्यास ठीक पडणार नाही. त्यास तोफखाना व लोक सरंजाम-सुधा बहादरपुन्यावरून बावा पिराचा घाट नर्मदातीरी आहे तेथे आणवावे आणि आपण पांच च्यारशे स्वारांनिसी दुसरे वाटेने तेथे जावे असा वेत करून तोफखाना लोक सुधां रवाना केले. त्यास सांगितले की गाईकवाडाची फौज आडवी आली असता बेलाशक लढाई करावी. आम्ही चांदोर कर्नाठीवरून बावा पीराच्या घाटावर येतो असे सांगितले आणि आपण चांदोर कर्नाठीच्या मुकामास गेले. तेथे नर्मदेचा व पूर्णा नदीचा संगम आहे. तेथे स्नानादिक सर्व आम्ही करून क्षेत्रातील शंभर ब्राह्मणांस येक येक रुपया दक्षणा देऊन पुढे चालते जाहले. तेथे नर्मदा उतरून शुक्र स्वामीच्या पादुकांचे दर्शन घेऊन त्याच दिवसी बावा पिराच्या घाटावर मुकामास गेले. तेच दिवसी तोफखाना वगैरे सरंजाम संकेताप्रमाणे प्रहर रात्री येऊन दाखल जाहले. त्या दिवसी मुकाम जाहला. दुसरे दिवसी गाईकवाड^१ यांस बातमी समजून त्याणी वकील अंताजी नागेश यास हजार स्वार देऊन पाठविले. त्याच्या भेटी जाहल्या. त्यांस माघारे जाण्यास निरोप देऊन दुसरे दिवसी कूच करून आंकलेश्वरच्या मुकामास सतावीस कोस गेले. तेथे आठ मुकाम जाहले हे वर्तमान मेस्तर गंभीर इंग्रज भडोचेस होता त्यास समजल्यावरून तोहि शंभर लोकांनिसी भेटील आला.^२ त्यास सांगितले की आम्ही सुरतेस जाणार त्यास तुम्हांकडील येक पलटण आम्हाबरोबर द्यावे.^३ त्याण सांगितले की तयार आहे. आपण कित्यास मेजवानीस आले पाहिजे. त्यावरून दुसरे दिवसी मेजवानीस गेले. मेजवानी घेऊन परत डेन्यास आले आणि बरोबर सतावीस कोस ज लोक आले होते त्यास बक्षीस देण्याची याद मुकामी येताच लिहून ठेविली होती ती सवनिसा-कडून आणविली आणि त्याप्रमाणे ब्राह्मण मंडली पंचवीस तीस होती त्यास पन्नास रो पासून शंभर रुपयापर्यंत दिले. मोतादार व भोई वगैरे पायचे लोक होते त्यास येक रोजमरा बक्षीस दिला. नंतर आंकलेश्वरच्या मुकामहून सरकारचे माहाल सुरत अठाविसीत होते तेथे जप्त्या करावयास कारकून स्वार पाठविले. हे वर्तमान माहालोमाहाली समजल्यावरून मामलेदार पळून ठाणी टाकून सुरतेस गेले. तेथून कूच करून पुढे तापी तीरी बराशाच्या मुकामास गेले तेथे मेस्तर गाडर इंग्रज कंपू तुरूप स्वारसुधां कलकत्याहून आणविला होता तो तेथे होता. त्याच्या भेटी जाहल्या. दुसरे दिवशी तेथून कूच करून सुरतेस गेले.^४ तेथे बडमसाहेब भेटीस पुढे आला व नबाबही आला. त्यास बरोबर घेऊन शहरात महमुदीबागेत मुकामास गेले. तेथे बडमसाहेब याणी दहा हजार रुपये खर्चास व मेजवानीचा सरंजाम पाठविला. बरोबर तोफखाना व पलटण व स्वार होते त्यास कुमारी सुरतेपासून दीड कोस आहे तेथे छावणीस पाठविले. नंतर महमुदी बागेत गाडर इंग्रज भेटीस आला. त्याणे विनंती केली^५ की, आम्हास चाकरी करीता बोलाऊन आणविले त्यास आज्ञा व्हावी. त्यास उत्तर केले की तुम्ही आहा तेथेच च्यार महिने परजन्याचे मुकाम करून राहावे. बाजत बरसात तुम्हांबरोबर चिरंजीव अमृतराव यास देऊन अमदाबाद प्रांती ठाणी घालावयाची^६ याप्रमाणे सांगून निरोप दिला. नंतर महमुदी बागेत चौथे लग्न केले होते त्या सौवती मंथराबाईस देवी येऊन देव आज्ञा जाहली.

कलम.

^१ फर्तेसिंग गायकवाड यास महादजीचें पत्र—‘आपली फौज सुद्धा आडवे होऊन दादासाहेब यास फिरंग्यास मिळो न द्यात. गांठ घालावी.’ ब. रा. द. ऐ. वे. २, ले. ६९.

^२ ऐ. टि., २, ले. ९.

^३ कित्ता ३, ले. ८; फारसी पत्रव्यवहार, ले. ३०.

^४ ब. रा. द. ऐ. वे. २, ले. ७२.

^५ दादा सुरतेस इंग्रजांकडे गेल्यावर त्यांनी त्याचा धिक्कारच केला. ‘तुम्ही वेईमान, तुमच्या वचनांत दृढता नाही. तुमचे नादी लागून आम्ही कर्जदार मात्र जाहलो. पेशजी तुम्हांस रुपया दिला तो वसूल नाही. तुम्हां जवळ ना फौज ना खर्चास. तुमची सोबत आम्हांस नको.’ (म. द. बा. १, ले. १).

^६ ‘हाली दादासाहेब यांनी अहमदाबाद, बडोदे व डभईकडे राजाराम गोविंद याची रवानगीचा विचार ठरविला.’ (कित्ता) ‘दादासाहेबांचे लोक अहमदाबादेस जाऊन हंगामा करणार हे कळलें’ असे पेशवा माधवराव लिहितो—ब. रा. द. ऐ. वे. २, ले. ७४.

१ सुरत अठावोस महालांत सरकारचे महाल होते तेथे जप्त्या केल्याच होत्या त्याच्या रसदा व दरकदार नेमून पाठविले. सात लक्ष होा तूर्त खर्चास मामलेदार नवे पाठविले त्यांजपासून घतले^१ कलम.

१ दसरा जाल्यानंतर अमृतराव याजबरोबर पांचशे लोक कवाईती व तोफखाना पांच तोफा सरंजामसुद्धा व मेस्तर गाडर इंग्रज यांस कंपुसुद्धा देऊन आमदाबाजेस पाठविले त्याणीं जाऊन आमदाबाजचा किला घऊन माहालो माहाली ठाणीं घातली.^२ अमृतराव यांजबाा लोक होते त्यास खर्चास दरमहा पन्नास हजार हा गाडर याण घावे असे सांगितले होते त्या प्रो तो दत होता. आमदाबाज किल्यास ठाणे घातले ते समई गाडर याणे आपला बावटा लाविला. हे वर्तमान दादासाहेब यांस समजल्यावरून लिहून पाठविले की, तुम्हांस कुमकेस आणविले असे असता तुम्ही आपला बावटा लाविला ही तुम्हांकडून बकैदी जाहला त्यापेक्षा तुम्ही कंपु सुधां निघोन जाण आणि अमृतराव यास लिहिले की तुम्ही सरंजामसुधां सुरतस येण. त्याप्रो अमृतराव निघोन आले. ठाणीं घातली होती त्याचा वसूल मस्तर गाडर याण घेतला आणि किला व ठाणीं सोडून सुरतस कंपु पलटणेंसुधां आला. त्यास दादासाहेब याणीं सांगितले की तुम्ही बकैदी कली त्यापेक्षा आम्हापार्शी राहू नये पाहिजे तिकडे जावे. त्याजवरून त्याणे तेथून कूच करून सरकारच माहालांतून घास दाणा घेत घेत वसईस आला. वसईचा किला सरकारांत होता तो घेतला^३ आणि तेथे मुकाम करून माहालाचा वसूल घेतला आणि सुरतेस बडमसाहेब यांस लिहिले की वसई किला सरकारांत घेतला. हे वर्तमान बडमसाहेब याणीं बकिलाबरोबर दादासाहेब यांजकड सांगून पाठविले की, वसई किला सर जाहला आपण खुशालीचा तोफा सोडव्या. त्यास उत्तर कले की सरकारचाच किला घेतला यांत विशेष काय ? तोफा सोडण्याचे प्रयोजन नाही. या प्रा सांगितले आणि मुंबईस हरवी^४ साहेब गोरनेर होता त्यास लिहून पाठविले आणि सुरतेहून दोन कारकून कलकत्यास जाला मजकूर लिहून दऊन रवाना कले. नंतर सुरततून निवून फुलपाड तापी तीरी गाव आहे तेथे मुकामास गेले.^५ तेथे बंगला बांधला. येक वर्ष तेथे मुकाम जाहला. नंतर दुभरे वर्षी बाजीराव यांची मुंज्य कली. आणि अग्निहोत्र घेतले आणि अहिंसक इष्टी जितक्या होत्या तितक्या करावयाच्या म्हणोन बेत कला. तो चैत्रमासी पूर्वेकडील वारा अति सुटून बंगला पडला. त्याखाली चाळीस पन्नास मनुष्य दबून मेले. त्याच वाऱ्याने सुरततील दोन च्यार हजार हवेली पडली. रात्रौ अति वृष्टि जाहली. तेणे करून तापीस पुर आला व पश्चिमेकडील भरती आली. या दोहाचा तुंबरा वसून शहरात पाणी गोपिपुऱ्यापर्यंत गेले. पाऊस निवतांच दादासाहेब याणीं मुले माणसे घऊन फुलपाडघात गेले. तेथे महादेवाचे देवाल्यात राहिले बंगला पडला होता. त्या खाली माणसे सांपडली होती ती काढावयाकरिता बलदार तवेलदार व कामाठी व शागीर्दपेशाच लोक मशाली दऊन पाठविले. त्याणीं लाकडे इकीकडे काढून दहा वीस असामी मलेले बाहेर काढिले. तो इतक्यांत पश्चिमेकडून वारे व पाऊस आला. त्यातून आगीचे गोळ येऊन होमशाळस पडद होत त जळाले. काहीं भोके पडली व पालखीच्या पिजऱ्या जळाल्या दुसरे दिवसी सूर्योदय जाल्यानंतर तेथे गुप्तेश्वरदेव आहे त्या घाटावर आपण स्नान संध्येस गेले मुले माणसे पहिल्या छावणीस गेली. आसमंतात चाळीस पन्नास कोस पावेतो याप्रमाणेच वाऱ्याने नासाडी जाहली व झाडावर पान राहिले नाही. असी बातमीही आली. दादासाहेब याणीं अदभुत शांत करून पुनराधन सिध्द केले आणि पूर्व संकेताप्राा अहिंसक अश्वमघपर्यंत जितक्या इष्टी करावयाच्या तितक्या केल्या. या कृत्यास दहा महिने लागले. नंतर तेथून कूच करून कपटदऱ्यावर • मुकामास गेले. तेथे जाऊन बरोबर सिष्ट ब्राम्हण होते त्यास सांगितले की, आम्हांस पिष्ट पशु

^१ कित्ता, ले. ७५.

^२ Gaikwads, III, p. 66.

^३ वसईचा किला मराठ्यापासून इंग्रजांनी ता. १२ डि. १७८० रोजी जिंकून घेतला. Gaikwads, III, pp. 94, 99.

^४ हॉर्नबी—मुंबईचा गव्हर्नर.

^५ 'श्रीमंत राजश्री दादासाहेब यांजकडील व इंग्रजाकडील माणसांची कटकट होऊन श्रीमंत त्या रोपावरी रुसून सुरतेहून गळ्या कांबळ्याच्या मुकामास आले.' ऐ. ले. सं. ७, ले. २६३८, यावरून फुलपाडेंस गेले हे खरे दिसत नाही.

करावयाचा त्यास ग्रंथाधार काढून दाखवावा. त्यावरून ब्राम्हणांनी याज्ञवल्की व पाराशर व मनुस्मृति इत्यादिकांच्या संमतीने पिष्ट पशु करावा असे ठरविले. परंतु याज्ञवल्की व मनु या स्मृतीत पिष्ट पशु करावा असे आहे परंतु रुढी रोवली असे वचन आहे त्यापेक्षा कसे करावे? एक पाराशर स्मृतीच्याच आश्रयाने कर्ण प्रशस्त नव्हे असे सांगून तो बेत राहिला. इतक्यांत पुण्याहून पत्रे नाना फडणीस यांची गेली की श्रीमंत रावसाहेब यांचे लग्न करावयाचे त्यास दोन च्यार मुली पाहिल्या आहेत त्यांतून आपली आज्ञा येईल ती निश्चय करता येईल. त्याचे उत्तर लिहिले की आनुबाई घोरपडे आम्हांस बडील ती तेथे आहेत. त्यांच्या विचारार्थ येईल त्याप्रा निश्चय करून कार्य संपादावे. या प्रा नानास लिहिले आणि आनुबाई यासही लिहिले की गडगनेर घरचा करावयाचा त्यास पोषाख येथून पाठविला आहे. हा घ्यावा. या प्रा पत्रे लिहून अडीचशे रुपयाचा पोषाख हुज्याबरोबर रवाना केला.

१ दादासाहेब याणी कलकत्यास दोन कारकून पाठविले होते त्यांची पत्रे आली त्यांत मेस्तर गाडर याणे वेकैदी केली सबब त्याजबरोबर कंपु होता. तो मुंबई सुभ्याचे तावे करून घेऊन गाडर याची रवानगी कलकत्यास करावी असे गौरनेरसाहेब यांस परभारे लिहिले गेले आहे व वसई वगैरे महाल पेशवे यांजकडील गाडर याणे घेतले असतील ते त्याचकडे द्यावे आणि त्यासी सला ठेवावा या प्रा गौरनेर यास आंतून लिहिले गेले आहे.

१ पेस्तर साली कलकत्याहून दहा कंपु वगैरे सरंजाम पाठवून अहृत गुजराथ तहत कर्नाटक पावेतो पेशवाई आमल आहे तो दरोबस्त कंपनी सरकारांत घ्यावा असे कोशेलात ठरल्याची बातमी लागल्यावरून कारकून याणी दादासाहेब यास लिहून पाठविले. ती पत्रे पाहून नाना फडणीस यांजकडे बातमी सदरहू मजकुराची लिहून पाठविली आणि लिहिले की तुम्ही हुषारी राखावी.

कलम.

१ दादासाहेब याणी कलकत्यास कारकून होते त्यास लिहिले की तुम्ही जो मजकूर लिहून पाठविला त्याप्रमाणे मुंबईस गौरनेरसाहेब याणी गाडर याची रवानगी कलकत्यास केली त्यापेक्षा तुम्ही गौरनेरसाहेब यास येथून थैली पाठविली आहे ती देऊन निरोप घेऊन निघोन येणे या प्रा पत्रे रवाना केली.

१ विद्यानंद जोसी याणी दादासाहेब यांस सांगितले की आजपर्यंत राजकारणे बहुत केली ती ठीकच. यानंतर पुढे कार्तिक मासी आपणास ग्रह बहुत अनिष्ट येतात त्यापेक्षा आजपासून सावधगिरी करावी आणि गंगातिरी वास करावयाची योजना करावी. राजकारणे इतःपर करू नये असे सांगितल्यावरून त्यांस उत्तर केले की ग्रह अनिष्ट येणार हे माझ्या लक्षात होतेच. त्यांतून आपणही सांगितले त्यापेक्षा इतःपर राजकारणे सोडली. सद्मार्गेच चालावयाचे. श्री कासीवासात जावे तर पला दूर त्यापेक्षा गंगातीरीच राहावयाचा बेत करितो. आपण हा मजकूर वाहेर बोलावयाचा नाही चिंतांतच ठेवावा. याप्रमाणे जोसी यास सांगितले.

१ दुसरे दिवसी रात्री सौवती आनंदीबाई व अमृतराव वगैरे जवळची ममतेतील मंडळी होती त्यास डेन्यास बोलाऊन सांगितले की आजपर्यंत आम्ही बहुत खटपट केली परंतु कोणताहि व्यवहार सिध्दीस गेला नाही त्यापेक्षा पुण्यास लिहून पाठऊन तुमचा बंदोबस्त करून देतो. त्यास तुम्ही व अमृतराव व बाजीराव अशी निघोन जावे. आम्ही जिकडे मनुष्य संच्यार नाही तिकडे जाणार. आमचे सोबती जे असतील त्यांणी मजबरोबर येतो किंवा पुण्यास जातो हे सांगावे. तेव्हा सर्वांनी विनंती केली की आपले पाय सोडून आम्ही कोणीकडे जाणार नाही. आनंदीबाई व अमृतराव यास पुसले की मी सांगितले त्याचे उत्तर काय? त्यावरून त्याणी सांगितले की जसी आज्ञा होईल तसे करूं. मंडळी पौ यादो शामराज येवलेकर याणे विनंती केली की आपणाबरोबर आम्ही येणार परंतु आपण ब्राह्मण्य संरक्षण करून राहाला तेथपर्यंत आम्ही आपले पाय सोडणार नाही. आपण यवन राज्यात जाऊन दुसरा आचार्य करूं लागल्यास आम्ही आपले सोबती नाही.

कलम.

१ दुसरे दिवसी श्रीमंत सवाई माधवराव यांचे नावे चिठी लिहिली त्यात मजकूर की आम्ही गंगातीरी येणार त्यास खर्चास लाख रुपये व ओझ्यास उंट वगैरे फरासखाना चांदवडच्या सुमारास पाठवून द्यावा. याप्रमाणे लिहिले आणि दोन हुजरे चालक [चलाख] खातरजमेचे तयार करणे

आणि मजपासी हुजऱ्याचे आईस बरे वाटत नाही यास निरोप देऊन पाठविले पाहिजेत. येक महिन्यात परत येतील तेव्हा मी उत्तर करीन की निरोप द्यावयाचा नाही. त्यावरून तू फारच आग्रह करून विनंती करावी म्हणजे निरोप देईल. याप्रमाणे भिवाजी नाईक कोलता यांस सांगितले त्याप्रमाणे भिवाजी नाईक याणे विनंती केली आणि दोघास वीस सो आगाऊ दिले पाहिजेत. म्हणोन विनंती केल्यावरून त्यास पुसले की हे न आले तर सो कोणास विचारवे त्याणे विनंती केली की माझे तसलमातीस लिहून द्यावे त्यावेळेस श्रीमंतांनी वीस सो बलवारदार यांजकडून देविले आणि त्यास येकांती सांगितले येथून दोन कोस कुंभारी आहे तेथपर्यंत तूं बरोबर जाऊन तुजपासी लखोटा देतो तो या दोघाजवळ द्यावा. आणि त्यांस सांगावे की नाना फडणीस यांचे हातात नऊन लखोटा देऊन उत्तर आणावे याप्रा आज्ञा जाहली त्याप्रा हुजरे चालते जाहले. सातवे दिवसी पुण्यास येऊन पोहचले ते गोपालजी गुंड्याचे घरी आले आणि त्यास सांगितले की आम्ही दादासाहेबाकडून आलो आहो. नानाची समक्ष गांठ पडली पाहिजे त्याजवरून गोपालजीने नानाच्या कानांवर घालून हुजरे वाड्यात सहा सात घटका रात्रीस नले त्याणी लखोटा दिल्या तो फोडून पत्र वाचून पाहिले आणि हरीपंत तात्या फडके यास बोलाऊन आणविले हुजऱ्यास दोघास दोन कडी सोन्याची व पोषाख देऊन गोपालजीचे घरी राहाण्यास सांगितले आणि गोपालजीस सांगितले की यांची बर-दास्त राखून कोणास समजू देऊ नये याप्रा सांगितले नंतर हरीपंत तात्याचे व नानाचे विचारवे ठरले की दादासाहेब यांचे पत्र आले आहे. त्याप्रमाणे तरतूद करून पाठविली पाहिजे. त्यास तुम्ही मानकरी वगरे सरंजाम फौजसुद्धा घेऊन चांदवडच्या सुमारे जावे तो इतक्यात त्यांची स्वारीहि तिकडून येईल. लाख रुपयाची हुंडी चिठी दर्शनी सुरत मुकामी ऐवज त्यास पोहचेल अशी दिली पाहिजे. याप्रमाणे तात्यास सांगितले त्याणी आज्ञेप्रमाणे हुंडी देतो व मानकरी व फौजेचीहि तयारी करितो याप्रमाणे सांगून तात्या गेले. दुसरे दिवसी प्रातःकाळी नाना सरकार वाड्यात गेले. तेथे दादासाहेबाकडील हुजरे आले होते त्यास आणऊन मुजरे करविले. नंतर पत्रांतील मजकूर निवेदन करून विनंती केली की पत्राप्रा तयारी करून पाठवितो. तिकडून हुजरे आले आहेत. त्याजबरोबर आलेल्या पत्राचा जाब लिहून आजच पुढे रवाना करितो अशी विनंती केल्यावरून आज्ञा जाहली की तुम्ही तरतूद लिहिल्याप्रमाणे करून पत्राचा जाब वडिलाचे नावे लिहून द्यावा त्याप्रमाणे नानानी पत्र तेव्हाच तयार करून श्रीमंताचे हातून विज्ञापना करऊन हुजरे याजबरोबर पाठविले कलम.

१ मेस्तर वडम इंग्रज यास त्याजकडील वकीलाबरोबर सांगून पाठविले होते की, आजपर्यंत मसलतसंबंधी आम्हाकडे तुमचा ऐवज किती हे समजले पाहिजे. त्याचे उत्तर हरबीसाहेब गौरनर याणी पाठविले आणि आपला ऐवज बावीस लक्ष मसलतसंबंधी खर्च जाला तो येण असी याद पाठविली ती मेस्तर वडम याजकडे आली त्यावरून त्याणी आपल्याकडील दुभाशा लक्ष्मण कामत यास दादासाहेबांकडे पाठविले त्याणी विनंती केली की मुंबईहून याद आली आहे. आज्ञा होईल तेव्हा वडमसाहेब घेऊन येणार त्यास उत्तर सांगितले की आजच सायंकाळच्या चार घटका दिवसास आम्ही घोडी फेरावयास कुंभारीचे मैदानात येतो तेथे तुम्ही यावे समक्ष गांठ पडल्यानंतर बोलणे होईल याप्रा आज्ञा जाहली त्याप्रमाणे दुभाशाने जाऊन वडमसाहेब यास सांगितले त्याप्रा तिसरे प्रहरी संकेताप्रा गाठी पडल्या. तेथे बोलणे जाहले. याद बेवीस लक्षाची दाखविली त्याजवरून ईजमाली सूडाची याद बरोबर नेली होती ती काढून मेस्तर गाडर याणे सुभा आमदाबाज व सुरत अठाविसी व वसई तालुकासुद्धा वसूल सतावीस लक्ष रुपये घेतले होते ते दाखविले. त्यावरून वडमसाहेब याणे सांगितले की वसूल रजू असेल असे सांगितल्यावरून दादासाहेब याणी त्यास सांगितले की तुम्हाकडून बेवीस लक्षाची याद आली त्या यादीत आम्हास मेजवानी खर्चाबद्दल चार लक्ष अजमासे रुपये पावले असतील ते यादीत आले नाही. त्यास रमारमी हिसेव पाहता तुमची बाकी आम्हाकडे निघत नाही व आम्हाकडीलहि तुम्हाकडे विशेष बाकी निघते असे नाही. दोस्ती कारभार यास कसे करावयाचे त्याजवरून वडमसाहेब याणी विनंती केली की जसी आज्ञा होईल तसे करावयास येईल. त्यावरून दादासाहेब याणी सांगितले की परस्परे फारकती असावी हे चांगले त्यावरून मेस्तर वडम साहेब याणी फारकती लिहून दिली व दादासाहेब याणी माहादाजी कृष्ण जोसी याजकडून लिहून आपण रजू करून मोतब करून फारकती दिली. याप्रमाणे त्याच बठकेस चार घटकेत उलगडा जाहला. नंतर वडमसाहेब याणी विनंती केली की आपण गंगातीरी जाणार त्यास आमचे डेऱ्यास मेजवानीस आले पाहिजे

त्यास उत्तर सांगितले की उत्तम आहे. उदईक येतो. याप्रा बोलणे होऊन बडमसाहेब आपल्या डेऱ्यास गेले व दादासाहेबहि आपल्या डेऱ्यास आले. दुसरे दिवसी प्रातःकाळी बोलावण्यास बडमसाहेब याणी लक्ष्मण कामत दुभाशा यास पाठविले की सर्व मंडळी घेऊन मेजवानीस आले पाहिजे त्याजवरून येतो अशी आज्ञा करून तिसरे प्रहरी फडणीस, चिटणीस, मजमदार, पोतनीस वगैरे सर्व मंडळी घेऊन स्वारी गेली. तेथे त्याणे मंडळीस साडेतीन वस्त्रप्रमाणे व खाशा त्रिवर्गास जवाहीर सिरपेच कंठीसुद्धा देऊन मेजवानी करून रवानगी केली. दुसरे दिवसी बडमसाहेब याजकडे महादाजी ऋण व बापू सारस्वत यास मेजवानीचे बोलावण्यास पाठविले. त्याणी उत्तम आहे तिसरे प्रहरी येतो म्हणोन सांगितले त्याप्रमाणे पाच खासे शंभर लोकांनिशी आलेल्याची मुदरत इराद्याप्रमाणे केली पांच असामीस हिऱ्याच्या अंगठ्या व वस्त्रे देऊन रवानगी केली. ते समई बडमसाहेब याणे अर्ज केला की आपण कूच करून जाते समई आम्हास सूचना असावी. कारण गौरनेरसाहेब यांचा हुकूम आला आहे की येक मजल बरोबर जावे. याजकरिता विनंती करितो. ते समई आज्ञा जाहली की निघते वेळेस सूचना करिता येईल.

१. नंतर रात्रीस सर्व दरकदार यांस बोलाऊन आज्ञा केली की आम्ही गंगातीरी जाणार त्यास स्वारीची तयारी भाड्याचे गाडे वगैरे काय पाहिजे त्याची दोन दिवसात करावी. ते समई स्वारीचे कूच आहे असे सर्वास समजले. तिसरे दिवसी तेथून कूच करून व्याघ्रेश्वर देव तापीचे काठी दहा कोस तेथे मुकामास गेले. बडमसाहेब व पांचशे लोक घेऊन मुकामास आले. तोफखाना व कोठीचे सामान वगैरे दरोबस्त सोनगडचे मुकामी जावे. आम्ही देवदर्शन घेऊन तेथे दुसरे दिवसी तेथे येतो याप्रा सांगितले होते. त्याप्रा सर्व सरंजाम किले सोनगडचे मुकामास गेले.^१ व खासा स्वारी व्याघ्रेश्वराचे दर्शन घेऊन दुसरे दिवसी बडमसाहेब यांस निरोप देऊन सोनगड मुकामास आली. तेथून कूच करून सहा कोस नवापुरच्या मुकामास आले.^२ तेथे रायजी दयानाथ सावकार सुरेचा [सुरतेचा] याचे गुमस्ते आले. त्याणी विनंती केली की लाख रुपये आपणास द्यावे म्हणोन पुण्यातील आडत्याचे लिहिले आहे आहे त्यास येवज तयार आहे. त्यावरून सदासीव नरसिंह घोरपडे पोतनीस यास आज्ञा केली की तुम्हाकडील दोन कारकून जामदार व सराफ यांजबरोबर देऊन सुरतेहून ऐवज आणवावा. बरोबर शंभर स्वार व शंभर लोक कवाईती द्यावी आणि सुरतेत भाड्याचे गाडे करून ऐवज आणावा. दुसरे दिवसी तेथेच मुकाम जाहला. मागाहून तोफखाना वगैरे सरंजाम यावयाचा होता तोहि दाखल जाहला. इतक्यात पुण्यातून ओझ्याकरिता दीडशे उंट राजश्री हरीपंत तात्या फडके याणी रवाना केले होते तेहि दाखल जाहले. सुरतेहून भाड्याचे उंटे तटे गाडे आणिले होते त्यास निरोप दिल्या आणि दरोबस्त सामान उंटावर घातले आणि कूच करून भोसल्याची साखरी गाव इनाम आहे तेथे मुकामास आले. हरीपंत तात्या पुण्याहून तुकोजी होळकर व रास्ते व विचूरकर व वोढेकर व राजे वहादर व हिरोजी पाटणकर वगैरे मानकरी हुजरात सुधा येकंदर दहा बारा हजार फौज व जरीपटका घेऊन चांदवडच्या मुकामी आले.^३ हे वर्तमान समजल्यावरून कूच करून चांदवडानजीक कोशावर आले. तेथे सर्वांच्या भेटी इराद्याप्रमाणे जाहल्या.^४ तुकोजी होळकर यांस दादासाहेब याणी पुसले की तुमचे केस अगदी पिकले. त्याणि विनंती केली की आपण पिकविले म्हणोन पिकले असे विनोदाचे भाषण जाले. त्यानंतर सर्वास विडे देऊन स्वारी डेऱ्यास येण्याकरिता चालती जाहली. सर्व मानकरी वगैरे आपआपल्या मिसली बरहुकूम स्वारीबरोबर आले. तेथून दीड कोस डेरे मुकामचे होते तेथे स्वारी आली. सर्व लोक आपआपल्या ठिकाणी मिसलीप्रा उतरले. दुसरे दिवसी प्रातःकाळीच कूच करून सितावखेडे श्री गंगेच्या दक्षण तीरी आहे तेथे मुकाम जाहला. गंगा दर्शनी पंचरत्न व वस्त्रे वाहून आपण सचैल स्नान करून आन्हक उरकून डेऱ्यास

^१ म. द. बा. १, ले. १०१.

^२ ऐ. ले. सं. ७, ले. २६८२.

^३ 'हरीपंत तात्या बरोबर रास्ते यांचे पथक व होळकर दोन हजार फौजेनिशी खासा याशिवाय हुजूरची पथके व किरकोळ सरंजामी मिळोन दोन तीन हजार, गाडदी हजार, दोन जिलबीच्या तोफा याप्रमाणे सरंजाम आहे.' ऐ. ले. सं. ७, ले. २६७९.

^४ हरीपंत व तुकोजी होळकर व दादासाहेब यांच्या भेटी चोडपे नजीक झाल्या. किता, ले. २६८५; म. द. बा. १, ले. १०३.

गेले आणि तोफखान्यापैा पंधरा तोफा सरंजाम सुधा व पलटण आपल्या डेन्याजवळ आणऊन चौकी पाहान्याचा बंदोबस्त पेशजीच्या इराद्याप्राा करविला. दुसरे दिवसी बाकीच्या तोफा व हरीपंत तात्या याणी डेरे वगैरे सामान आणविले होते ते गंगेच्या उत्तर तीरी उभे करावयास सांगितले. त्याप्राा फरासखाना उभा राहिला. तेथे तोफखाना वगैरे जकीरा सामान दरोबास्त ठेविले आणि अमृतराव यांस आज्ञा केली की तुम्ही तेथे मुकाम करावा त्याप्राा ते जाऊन तेथे उतरले. रात्रौ भोजनोत्तर भिवाजी नाईक कोलता यास सांगितले की आपल्याकडील चौकी पाहान्याची हुषारी कशी आहे ती पाहून येणे आणि कानात सांगितले की दरकदार यास सांगावे की छबीन्याच्या आत त्याची फौज चालून येत असे झाल्यास तुम्ही मनाई करावी. ते न यैकले तर गरम छाट गेले बेलाशक टाकावे याप्रमाणे सांगणे म्हणोन कोलत्या नाईक यास सांगून पाठविला. त्याणे आज्ञेप्राा चौकी पाहारा हुशार आहे हे पाहिले आणि दरकदार यास आज्ञा जालेली कानात सांगून ठेवून येऊन विनंती केली आणि तसाच गंगा उत्तर तीरी अमृतरावसाहेब होते त्या गोटात जाऊन तोफखान्या बंदोबस्त हुषारीचा करविला. सदरहुप्राा त्यासहि आज्ञा सांगितली. त्यानंतर दुसरे दिवसी प्रातःकाळी च्यार घटका दिवसास हरीपंत तात्या दादासाहेब यांजकडे आले. त्याणी विनंती केली की पुढे काय आज्ञा नानांनी विनंती करावयास सांगितले की आपण आनंदवलीस गंगातीरी राहावे. त्याचे उत्तर सांगितले की उत्तम आहे. आम्ही सिध्द आहो. व तेच वेळेस हरीपंत तात्या याणी विनंती केली की पुण्यास लिहून पाठवितो. उत्तर येईल तसी विनंती करीन असे सांगून स्वाराची डाक पुण्यापर्यंत कोसाकोसास पाठविली होती त्याजवरून लिहून पाठविले. त्याचे उत्तर चौथे रोजी प्रातःकाळी आले. त्यातील आशय आनंदवलीस स्वारी पोहचती करावी^१. हरीपंत तात्यांनी नाशीकचे मामलेदार यांस लिहून पाठविले की श्रीमंताची स्वारी आनंदवलीस राहावयास येणार त्यास तेथील बाडा झाडलोट करून तयार करवावा. हे वर्तमान पंचवटीस मातुश्री गोपीकाबाई होती त्यांस समजले. त्याणी हरिपंत तात्यास लिहून पाठविले की दादासाहेबांची स्वारी इकडे येण्याचा बेत करू नये. तिकडेच टोके पैठणाकडे ठेवावे. हे वर्तमान पुण्यास तात्यांनी लिहिले. त्याचे उत्तर तिसरे दिवसी आले की आम्ही बायकाच्या गोष्टी ऐकत नाही. दादासाहेब आनंदवलीसच राहातील. आपल्यास प्रशस्त वाटत नसल्यास आपणच टोके पैठणाकडे जावे याप्राा बाईस लिहून पाठवावे म्हणोन उत्तर आले. तेव्हा गंगाधरराव नाना रास्ते यास हरीपंत तात्या यांणी सांगितले की तुम्ही पंचवटीस जाऊन बाईस विनंती पुण्याच्या पत्राच्या आशयाची करावी. त्यावरून गंगाधरराव नाना रास्ते पंचवटीस जाऊन विनंती केली त्यांणी उत्तर केले की आम्ही येथून जाणार नाही व त्याणी इकडे येऊं नये असी दुर्भाषणे बहुतेक प्रकारची केली. तो मजकूर रास्ते माधारे येऊन तात्यास सांगितला. तोच मजकूर पुण्यास नानाकडे लिहून पत्रें पाठविली त्यावरून नानास राग येऊन उत्तर पाठविले की वाईचे बंधु गंगाधरराव रास्ते आहेत त्यास फिरोन त्यांजकडे पाठवून स्पष्ट सांगावे की दादासाहेब आनंदवलीसच राहातील. आम्ही नुमचा आग्रह ऐकणार नाही. याप्राा उत्तर आले. त्यावरून मागल्याने गंगाधरराव रास्ते पंचवटीस गेले. त्याणी नानाची पत्रें आली होती त्यातील भाव सर्व निवेदन केला आणि आपण होऊन सांगितले की तुम्ही आग्रह करू नये जसी आज्ञा नानाची आहे तसे होऊ दे. त्यास उत्तरबाईनी केले की आमचे न ऐकता आले अमता अमर्यादा होईल. तेच बोलणे हरीपंत तात्या यांजपासी रास्ते याणी सांगितले. तोच मजकूर पुण्यास लिहून पाठविला. इकडे दादासाहेब याणी च्यार पांच दिवस जाल्यानंतर हरीपंत तात्या यास बोलाऊन आणविले आणि विचारिले की कूच होण्यास दिरंग का ? परजन्याचे दिवस उदईक कूच करावे. त्यावरून हरीपंत याणी विनंती केली की आपण आनंदवलीस येऊं नये. येविसीचा आग्रह मातुश्री बाईसाहेब याचा फारच आहे. तो मजकूर पुण्यास लिहिला आहे. तिकडील उत्तर येईल तसे करावयाचे असी विनंती करून निघोन गेले. दुसरे दिवसी पुण्याहून उत्तर आले की दादासाहेब यांणी आनंदवलीसच राहावे बाईचा आग्रह किती असला तरी ऐकावयाचा नाही असे उत्तर आल्याची विनंती तात्यांनी केली. त्यास उत्तर दादासाहेब याणी केले की आग्रहाने आनंदवलीस जाऊन राहणे ठीक नव्हे. आम्ही हल्ली आहो येथेच मुकाम करून राहूं. नानास असेच ल्याहावे. नंतर हरिपंत तात्यांनी गंगाधरराव नाना रास्ते यास बाईकडे पाठवून विनंती करविली की त्याणा आनंदवलीस राहूं नये असा दोष तरी दादासाहेब याजकडे काय आहे हे समजले पाहिजे. तेव्हा बाईनी सांगितले की त्यांच्या हातून महत्पातके घडली आहेत. त्यापेक्षा त्यांचे मुखावलोकन करावयाचे नाही. त्याजवरून

^१ ऐ. ले. सं. ७, ले. २६८५.

नाना रास्ते याणी बाईस पुसले की त्याणी महत्पातके परिहारार्थ प्रायश्चीत घेऊन आनंदवलीस येऊन राहावे किवा नच यावे, कसी मर्जी त्यावरून बाईनी सांगितले की प्रायश्चीत करून नंतर येऊन आनंदवलीस राहावे. तेव्हा काय प्रायश्चीत, कसे करावे याचा विधी लिहून द्यावा. त्यावरून दुसरे दिवसी नाशीककर शास्त्री पंडित सिष्ठ लोक बोलाऊन आणऊन सभा केली आणि त्यांस सांगितले की विध्युक्त प्रायश्चित्ताचा संकल्प कसा तो लिहून द्यावा. त्यावरून समस्तानी विचार करून संकल्प लिहून दिल्या तो घेऊन रास्ते आले. हा मजकूर तात्या याणी कानावर घातला. त्यास उत्तर जाले की बरे आम्हास काही अभिमान नाही. हाच संकल्प पुण्यास पाठऊन तेथील शास्त्री पंडीत याची संमती घालून आणवावा म्हणजे प्रायश्चित्त घेण्यास आम्ही सिध्द आहो. त्यावरून हरिपंत तात्या याणी कचा मजकूर व संकल्प लिहून आलेल्या प्रा पुण्यास डाकेवरून रवाना केले. संकल्पाची नकल दादासाहेब याणी आपणांपासी ठेविली. तेथे नानानी सरकार वाड्यांत रामशास्त्री प्रमुख समस्त सिष्ठ ब्राह्मणाची सभा करून नाशकाहून संकल्प लिहून आला होता तो दाखविला. त्या समई समस्त सिष्ठ ब्राह्मणांनी त्या संकल्पास अनुमोदन देऊन प्रायश्चीत केले पाहिजे असे नानास सांगितले. त्याप्रा नानानी हरिपंत तात्यास लिहिले. तात्यांनी दादासाहेबास विनंती केली की नाशकाहून संकल्प आला. त्यास पुण्यातील सिष्ठ ब्राह्मणाची संमती पडून प्रायश्चित्त केले पाहिजे असे पत्र नानाचे आले. त्यावरून दादासाहेब यांणी उत्तर केले की आम्ही प्रायश्चित्त घेण्यास सिध्दच आहो परंतु या संकल्पाप्रमाणे पूर्वी प्रायश्चित्त जाहले असता पुनरपि ध्यावे असे कोणत्या ग्रंथी लेख आहे तो लिहून आणवावा म्हणजे प्रायश्चित्त घेता येईल. त्यावरून हरिपंतांनी नानास सदरहू मजकूर लिहिला. त्यावरून मागत्याने सरकार वाड्यांत पंडितांची सभा करून पत्र आलेला मजकूर सांगितला. त्यावरून सर्वांना विचार पाहाता पुन्हा प्रायश्चित्त ध्यावे असे कोणतेही ग्रंथी नाही वचन नाही असे असता आम्ही प्रायश्चित्त करावे असे संमत दिले हे अयोग्य. आम्ही पढोन मूर्खत्व घेतले असे जाहले. धर्मशास्त्र विषई दादासाहेबापुढे आम्ही काय सांगावयाचे. ते पवित्रच आहेत. त्यांच्या ईच्छेस येईल तसे त्यांणी करावे. असे नानास सांगितले. त्याप्रा नानानी हरिपंत तात्यास लिहिले. तात्यांनी विनंती करून पत्र आलेले दाखविले त्यावरून प्रायश्चित्त करावयाचे नाही असे ठरून हरीपंत तात्या यांणी विनंती केली की मला आज्ञा जाली असता मी पुण्यास जाईन ते समई उत्तम आहे. तुम्ही जावे. परंतु आम्ही येथे राहाणार. त्यास वाडा बांधिला पाहिजे याजकरिता लाख पन्नास हजार रुपये लागतील त्याची तरतूद करून पाठवावे याप्रमाणे सांगून निरोप दिल्हा. तात्यांनी विसाजीपंत आठवले यांस हजार स्वारानिसी ठेवून आपण फौज सुधा पुण्यास गेले. पुण्यास जाऊन राघोपंत गडबोले याजकडील हजार पायदल गाडदी चौकी पाहण्याकरिता आपाजीपंत सहस्त्रबुध्ये याजवा देऊन रवाना केले आणि नाशीकचे मामलेदार धोंडो महादेव यांस लिहून पाठविले की दादासाहेब सितार खेड्यासच मुकाम करून राहणार. तेथे वाडा बांधावयाचा त्यास तुम्ही सागवानी लाकडे चाळीस पन्नास हजाराची खरेदी करून श्री गंगेस पाणी आहे तोपर्यंत रवाना करून पोहचती करावी म्हणोन लिहिले व खासगीवाले यास सांगितले दादासाहेबास वाडा बांधून द्यावयाचा त्यास लाकडे नाशकाहून परभारे आणविली आहेत. तुम्ही इकडून सुतार लव्हार गवंडे वगैरे सरंजाम देऊन कारकून रवाना करावे. खर्चाचा ऐवज पाहिजे त्यास तूर्त पन्नास हजाराच्या वरता घेऊन काम चालते करावे याप्रमाणे सांगितले. कलम.

१ दादासाहेब यांणी आपलेकडील फडणीस पोतनीस वगैरे दरकदार यांस सांगितले की पुण्याहून खर्चास येणार याची वहिवाट त्यांजकडून कारकून घेऊन करतील. तुम्ही आपल्याकडील हिसेब आकारणी करून तयार करून समजवावे. असे आपल्या दरकदारास सांगितले आणि विसाजीपंत आठवले यास बोलाऊन आणविले आणि आज्ञा केली की तुम्हाकडून खर्चास यावयाचे त्याचे वहिवाटीस पुण्याहून कारकून दरकदार आणवावे आणि यांजकडून वहिवाट करवावी असी आज्ञा झाल्याचे आठवले याणी पुण्यास लिहिले त्यावरून नानानी फडणिसाकडील वहिवाटीस गोविंदपंत गडबोले व पोतनिसाकडील कारकून व मजमदार याकडील कारकून पाठविले ते येऊन वहिवाट करू लागले. कलम.

१ दादासाहेब याणी व्यंकटराम शास्त्री यास व विद्यानंद जोशी यास विचारिले की आम्हास गायत्री पुरश्चरण करावयाचे त्याचा विधी पाहून सांगावा त्यावरून त्याणी विचार करून सांगितले की उत्तम आहे. उदईक मुहूर्त चांगला आहे. प्रारंभ करावा. त्यास आज आपण अनशन व्रत केले

पाहिजे. त्याप्रमाणे व्रत करून दुसरे दिवसी आचार्य वर्णाची सुपारी व्यंकटराम शास्त्री यास दिली. त्याणी पनास ब्राम्हण जपास लाविले. प्रती दिवसी दर ब्राम्हणाने दोन सहस्र जप करावा असे सांगितले. चौविसावे दिवसी पुरश्चरण समाप्त झाले. तदंग होम मार्जन तर्पण ब्राम्हण भोजन इत्यादी करून ब्राम्हणास जपाची दक्षणा दर हजारी आठ आणि प्राा देऊन सांगता केली. नंतर तीळ होम कोटी करावयाचा संकल्प करून प्रारंभ केला. प्रती दिवसी दोन लक्ष याप्रमाणे पनास दिवसात समाप्त जाहला. त्याची दक्षणा दर हजारी आठ आणि प्रमाणे देऊन ब्राम्हण भोजनादि विधीपूर्वक केले पुनराधन सिद्ध करून प्रायश्चित्त इष्टि करून आग्रयण इष्टिपर्यंत आग्नीहौत पुढे समारोप केला. याचे कारण सौवती आनंदीबाई याचे बोलणे पडले की आम्ही त्रिविकेश्वराच्या दर्शनास जाणार त्यास आज्ञा जाली पाहिजे त्यावरून आग्नी समारोप करून समागमे बाजीराव साहेब यास दीडशे लोक रवानगी करून दिली. ती जाऊन दहा बारा दिवसी परत आली. त्यास जाते समई सांगितले होते की, येते समई मातुश्री गोपिकाबाई पंचवटीस आहेत त्यास भेटीस येणार असे सांगोन पाठवावे. त्याणी यावे असे सांगितल्यास भेट घेऊन येणे. आपल्यास वैरभाव इतःपर करावयाचा नाही. त्या प्राा सौवती आनंदीबाई याणी सांगोन पाठविले. त्याणी भेटीचे प्रयोजन नाही असे सांगितल्यावरून पंचवटीतील श्रीरामजीचे दर्शन घेऊन आली.

१ कार्तीक मासी शुद्ध २ काही ज्वरांश जाहला. नंतर विद्यानंद जोसी यास विचारले की पुढे कसे त्यावरून त्याणी नाडी पाहून सांगितले की दौलतीचा वंदोवस्त आपण केलाच आहे. कोणास काही द्यावयाचे व सांगावयाचे असेल ते सांगावे. हा ज्वर निघावयाचा नाही. त्यावरून दादासाहेब याणी जवळची मंडळी बहुत दिवस चाकरी मेहनत केलेली होती त्यांस इनाम बक्षीस द्यावयाची याद केली. तीस पस्तीस हजाराला सुमार याद जाली. बाकी सिलक जामदारखान्यांत नखत व जवाहीर व कापड होते. त्या पैा अमृतराव यास सात लक्ष रुपये व दोन लक्षाचे जवाहीर व पंचवीस हजारचे कापड या प्राा द्यावे असे यादीत लिहिले. बाकी पैवज वगैरे होता त्याचा मालीक बाजीराव असे यादीस लिहिले आणि औरंगाबाजेस निजामलीखान याजकडील सुभेदारास लिहून पाठविले की, वेदरच्या स्वारीत खंडणीचा ठराव जाहला आहे. तो पैवज सरकारांत दिल्या किती, बाकी राहिला किती असेल तो पुणे मुकामी पोहचता करावा म्हणोन निजामलीखान यास त्याहावे म्हणोन पत्र पाठविले. त्यावरून त्याणी हैदराबाजेस डाकेवरून लिहून पाठविले. तो मजकूर हैदराबाजेहून पुण्यात वकील होते त्यास लिहिला आला त्याणी नानास विनंती केली की प्रथम दादासाहेबानी पैवज देऊ नये असे सांगितले असता हली पुण्यास पैवज पोहचता करावा म्हणोन पत्र पाठविले. याचे कसे त्यावरून नानानी उत्तर केले की ते धनी आहेत त्यांजकडे विनंती पत्र लिहून उत्तर आणऊन तुम्हास सांगू या प्राा वकिलास सांगितले आणि गोविंदराव काले यास आज्ञा केली की तुम्ही दादासाहेबांकडे जाऊन नवाबाकडील पत्र वकिलास आले. त्याणी आम्हास विचारले हा मजकूर कानी घालावे आणि पुढे कसे करावयाचे त्याची आज्ञा व्हावी म्हणोन विनंती करून आज्ञा हीईल ते समजून घेऊन यावे. त्यावरून काळे दादासाहेबांकडे आले. त्याणी सर्व मजकूर निवेदन केला. त्याचे उत्तर सांगितले की अडीच कोट रुपये खंडणी जाली होती तो पैवज द्यावयाचा व दहा हजार स्वारांनिशी चाकरी त्याणी नेहमी करू नये असे कबूल केले होते तेही जाले नाही. त्यापेक्षा दहा हजार फौजेचा आकार आजपर्यंत होईल तो अडीच कोट रुपये व पासष्ट लक्षाचा मुलुख याप्रमाणे त्याणी उलगडल्यास उत्तम न पेक्षा स्वारी करून उलगडा करून घ्यावयाचा म्हणोन निज्यामलीकडील वकीलास सांगावे आणि त्या प्राा करावे असे काले यांस सांगून रवाना केले. ते पुण्यास येऊन आज्ञे प्राा नानास मजकूर सांगितला. नानानी वकिलास बोलाऊन आणऊन सांगितले. सरकारची आज्ञा आम्हास आली की तुम्हाकडून अडीच कोट सौ व दहा हजार स्वाराचे रोजमरेचे वगैरे आकाराचे सौ व पासष्ट लक्ष रुपयाचा मुलुक द्यावयाचा करार होता. त्याचा आकार आजपर्यंत करून द्यावा आणि पुढे मुलुक आपले स्वाधीन करून घ्यावा असी आज्ञा आहे. ते तुम्हाकडून न होई तर स्वारीही करावयास सांगितले आहे म्हणोन लिहून पाठवावे उलगडा न झाल्यास पेस्तर साली स्वारी होईल. खड्याची स्वारी होण्याचे कारणे हे. कलम.

१ दादासाहेबानी जवळच्या मंडळीस वगैरे देण्याची याद केली होती त्या प्राा ज्याचे त्यास दिले कलम.

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